DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 197 250 CG 014 897

AUTHOR	McGuigan, Dorothy G., Ed.
TITLE	Women's Lives: New Theory, Research and Policy.
INSTITUTION	Michigan Univ., Ann Arbor. Center for Continuing Education for Women.
SPONS AGENCY	Ford Foundation, New York, N.Y.
PUB DATE	80
NOTE	436p.
AVAILABLE FROM	University of Michigan, Center for Continuing Education of Women, 330 Thompson Street, Ann Arbor, MI 48109 ($6.00)
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Coping: Cultural Influences: Developmental Stages: *Employed Women: Family Life: *Females; Feminism: *Life Style: Mothers: *Public Policy: *Sex Role: Social History: *Womens Studies

ABSTRACT

This book is a compilation of papers reporting and interpreting new research on women presented at the 1979 conference, "Women's Life Cycle and Public Policy," held at the University of Michigan. The papers focus on ways that women's lives may differ from men's, and on adaptations, both individual and social, that may encourage equal participation and satisfaction in society. The materials are divided into nine sections: (1) women's development (life-cycle theories): (2) women's involvement in multiple roles: (3) stages in family life (individual development of men and women): (4) issues in the workplace: (5) changes, transitions, and crises: (6) life satisfaction (well-being): (7) women and health: (8) women's education: and (9) women's lives and public policy. A brief index and information about each author is provided. (Author/CS)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

HARD COPY NOT AVAILABLE

ED197250

WOMEN'S LIVES:

New Theory, Research & Policy

Edited by

DOROTHY G. MCGUIGAN

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Jean W. Campbell

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

The University of Michigan
Center for Continuing Education of Women
1980

CG 014897

On the cover: "Self Portrait" by Käthe Kollwitz

Cover design by Jennifer Spoon

Technical Assistance by Lucinda Palmer and Nancy Workman

Copyright 1980 by the University of Michigan

What would happen
if one woman told the truth about her life
The world would split open.

Muriel Rukeyser, "Käthe Kollwitz"

CONTENTS

Foreword, Jean Campbell IX

Exploring Women's Life Course:
An Introduction, Dorothy McGuigan XI

I. Toward a New Theory of Women's Development 1

Crossovers: New Themes in Adult Roles and the Life Cycle
Janet Zollinger Giele 3

Restoring the Missing Text of Women's Development to Life Cycle Theories
Carol Gilligan 17

The Seasons of a Woman's Life
Judith M. Bardwick 35

II. Meshing Multiple Roles 59

Work-Family Life Cycle among Women
Patricia Voydanoff 61

Toward Economic Independence: Women's Involvement in Multiple Roles
Rosalind Barnett and
Grace Baruch 69

Working Mothers of Infants: Conflicts and Coping Strategies
Pamela M. Schwartz 85

Meanings of Work for Mothers
Marcia W. Plunkett 95

Inter-role Conflict, Coping Strategies and Satisfaction among Black Working Wives
Algea Othella Harrison and
Joanne Holbert Minor 101

Generational and Life-Cycle Effects on Women's Achievement Orientation
Catherine A. Faver 111

III. Stages in the Life of the Family 115

Psychological Correlates of Early
Family Formation
Karen C. Mikus 117

Men at Middle Age
Lois M. Tamir 127

Emptying the Nest: Women in the
Launching Stage
Erica Serlin 133

Major Events in the Lives of Men and Women
Greg J. Duncan 147

IV. Issues of the Workplace 157

Agents of Technological Change: Women in
the Pre- and Post-Industrial Workplace
Daryl M. Hafter 159

Black Women and the Work Experience
Patricia Bell Scott 169

Sex-based Wage Differentials
Mary Corcoran 179

Women in CETA: The Social Context of Public
Service Employment
Jeanne Prial Gordus 195

V. Transitions and Crises: Dealing with Change. . . 205

Women's Mid-Life Career Change: Facilitating
the Tasks of Mid-life Transition
Jacquelyn Wiersma 207

Social Support for Women in Transitions:
Conceptual Considerations
Sandra Gibbs Candy 221

Social Support for Women in Transition:
Some Data
Jan Beals and Toni Antonucci 229

Sex Differences in Adjustment to Widowhood
Suzanne Kunkel Adlon 239

Coping Patterns in Widowhood
Joanne Baum 247

The Misguided Helper: An Analysis of People's Responses to their Loved One's Crises
Antonia Abbey, A. Elizabeth Holland and Camille B. Workman 257

VI. Measuring Women's Life Satisfaction 267

Work, Women and Well-being: A Cognitive Approach
Hazel Markus 269

Transition to Work: Who is Satisfied and Who is Not?
Jean Manis 283

Changes in Psychological Well-being during the 1970s of Homemakers and Employed Wives
Angus Campbell 291

Widowhood and Well-being
Janet A. Kohen 303

VII. Women and Health 309

Social Networks and Health Behavior
Charlene Depner and Lois M. Verbrugge 311

The Role of Women in Family Health Care Planning
Toni C. Antonucci and S. Margaret Davies 324

Heroin Addiction among Women
Mary Ellen Colten 337

VIII. Patterns and Problems of Women's Education 345

Assessing the Atmosphere: Education and Career Success in Academic Women
Barbara L. Forisha 347

The Minnesota Experience: Continuing Education for Women, 1960 to 1978
Judy Mahle Lutter 363

The Effects of Teachers' Expectancies and Attribution of Students' Expectancies for Success in Mathematics
Jacqueline Parsons 373

Congruence between Professional Goals, Job Responsibilities and University Priorities for Women Faculty in Big Ten Schools of Education
Phyllis Blumenfeld, Shirley Cooper, Geraldine Markel and Laura Williams 381

IX. Women's Lives and Public Policy 389

Toward a New Policy for the Family
Elizabeth Douvan 391

The American Homemaker: Policy Proposals
Nancy R. Hauserman 397

Living too Long, Dying too YOung, and Disability for the Homemaker
Carol Carde Oliven Fethke 405

Representing the 80 Percent: Needs of the Pink and Blue Collar Woman Worker
Sandra Porter 417

Women and Policy Making in the Housing Area
Jo Ann McGeorge 423

Race, Sex, Age and Political Conservatism among Partisan Elites
Pauline Terrelonge Stone 427

Women, Representation and Public Policy: Reflections for the Future
Irene Diamond 439

About the Authors 445

Index 449

FOREWORD

"The specific goals of the University of Michigan Center for Continuing Education of Women since its founding have been to recognize and to remove barriers to achievement for women students, to encourage research on women and their problems, and to work toward a more rational planning for women's educational needs."

As witnessed by the present volume these words have as lively a meaning in 1980 as in 1970 when they first appeared in the foreword to a Center publication.

Women's Lives is a collection of papers from the fifth Center conference reporting new research on women, "Women's Life Cycle and Public Policy," November 7 and 8, 1979. The papers focus on ways that women's lives may differ from men's, and on adaptations, both individual and social, that will encourage equal participation and satisfaction in a nourishing society.

This conference and the research reported to it by Hazel Markus and Jean Manis of the Center staff were made possible by a Ford Foundation grant to the Center in 1977. We are grateful to the Foundation for its investment in our efforts, and we wish especially to thank Mariam Chamberlain of the Foundation staff for her generous and continuing encouragement and support.

We appreciate as well the support of then Acting President of the University Allan F. Smith and Dean Alfred S. Sussman of the Rackham School of Graduate Studies in publishing this volume.

Jean W. Campbell

Jean W. Campbell
Director
Center for Continuing Education
of Women

EXPLORING WOMEN'S LIFE COURSE:

AN INTRODUCTION

The search for a visible pattern in the phases and stages of human life has occupied philosophers and poets and scholars across the centuries. *The Calendar of Shepherds*--that quaint sixteenth-century compilation of popular lore--equated the Twelve Ages of Man with the twelve months of the year--but said nothing of the Twelve Ages of Woman. And when Shakespeare set down his witty version of the Seven Ages of Human Life, it was men's lives he described with his schoolboy, soldier, justice and pantaloon. Contemporary life cycle research too has depended primarily on studies of men; where women's life patterns appeared to differ, as Carol Gilligan points out, they were most often viewed as "deviant" or "deficient."

The Center for Continuing Education of Women--interested since its founding in helping adult women manage critical changes and stages in their lives--sponsored a national conference in November 1979, bringing together scholars from a wide range of disciplines, who have researched some aspect of women's adult lives and development.

Among the questions raised at the conference were these: is there a recognizable pattern in women's development from adolescence to old age, and does it differ in significant ways from men's? Does work have the same meaning for women as for men--or even the same meaning for women across their life span? What does new research tell us about transition points in women's adult lives--and how and when they are bridged? If there are gender differences in the underlying pattern of men's and women's lives, what implications do those differences have for the formulation of public policy?

In astonishing ways certain major themes occur and recur in the findings of the nearly fifty scholars from a dozen different disciplines whose work is included in this book. Again and again these themes reinforce one another across disciplinary boundaries: the striking complexity of women's adult lives, in which love and work interweave in intricate sequences and patterns, and the need for significant change in public policy better to accommodate the differing needs of women.

Sociologist Janet Giele, in her imaginative and synthesizing study "Crossovers--New Themes in Adult Roles and the Life Cycle," posits a new concept for viewing the integrative processes of society and a framework for understanding what is happening today to sex and age roles. Describing the concept of crossover--the loosening of ascriptive ties of sex and age--Giele suggests the process by which equality between the sexes and among age cohorts will be attained, appreciating differences, at the same time insuring individual choice and dignity.

A number of writers observe and report the intertwining of multiple roles across women's life span. If male development--as Daniel Levinson describes it in *The Seasons of a Man's Life*--can be charted by clearly distinguished blocks of time, perhaps women's development can better be envisioned as a braid of threads in which colors appear, disappear and reappear. Jean Manis, studying women who have made the transition from homemaking to employment, notes the "astonishing variety of patterns with respect to the actual chronological sequence in which they have finished college, married, worked, stayed home, gone to graduate school, returned to work [with many going through] much more complicated sequences, involving several transitions into and out of the labor force and sometimes several periods of enrollment in school." Rosalind Barnett and Grace Baruch exploring the multiple-role theme through a study of employed and non-employed women, conclude that, despite the stress and conflict of role overload, most women find the carrying of multiple roles to be on balance positive.

The dominance of relationships and of caring in women's values and in women's decision-making also seems apparent. Social psychologist Carol Gilligan, comparing the differing sequences of young men's and women's moral development, notes that women continue to be concerned first with issues of responsibility and care, and only later with integrity and individuation. Judith Bardwick, mapping the seasons of women's lives, points not only to significant gender differences in the stages of men's and women's adult lives, and to the relational character of women's adolescent Dream, but to changes brought by the women's movement within various age cohorts of women today.

Women's roles continue to be closely bound to the family--which, like the individual, has a life cycle of its own. Historically the coordination of family and work roles was assumed to be the sole responsibility of women, and the woman in the dual career family bore a double burden. Patricia Voydanoff fuses family-and career-developmental patterns to produce a multiple-role model reflective of women's lives. She notes that women are developing new patterns of role sequencing, with shorter time periods per sequence, more flexibility in choosing sequences, and larger numbers of shifts into and out of the labor force. She proposes ways in which men and women in two-career marriages can accommodate to the work-family life cycle with minimum of strain.

Hazel Markus in her paper "Work, Women and Well Being" looks at the meaning of work in women's lives, points out that for women the relationship of work to a sense of well-being changes across the life course and reflects the woman's own view of herself at any particular stage. Pamela Schwartz's young professional women having a first child report a change in their attitude toward their work, something they describe as "feeling less aggressive," without a diminishing in quality or quantity of work performed. But if a choice must be made, the maternal role takes preference.

Public policy continues to lag far behind social change, and in the workplace women continue to be disadvantaged. Patricia Bell Scott reports that, despite high stable levels of labor force participation across the course of their lives, black women continue to suffer double discrimination in employment. Mary Corcoran offers a new analysis of sex discrimination in the marketplace to explain the continuing earnings gap between men and women, proposing key policy changes to erase that gap.

The concluding section of the book spells out ways in which public policy can be better shaped to the needs of women's lives, at the same time enhancing and enriching men's lives as well. Elizabeth Douvan suggests a more equitable sharing of parenthood between men and women, with men taking at least part-time paternity leave from their jobs, and with society bearing the cost of parenting leaves for the sake of a better family life, better neighborhoods, and a better future generation.

If the principles of flexibility and adaptability that women have so perceptively applied can be extended to the education, hiring and entitlement of men, writes Janet Giele, "equality for women will be much nearer realization than it is at the moment.... We should design policies," she continues, "that permit maximum crossover and maximum flexibility, so that persons can take up developmental tasks according to their own schedule and their own life history...expanding the opportunity in our society to celebrate individual differences and yet experience qualities and activities formerly denied. This is truly a theme of human liberation."

--Dorothy McGuigan

I.

TOWARD A NEW THEORY OF WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT

CROSSOVERS: NEW THEMES IN ADULT ROLES AND THE LIFE CYCLE

Janet Zollinger Giele

In 1979 it is difficult to recall that only ten years ago, in 1969, the new feminist movement had not reached general acceptance or visibility in the academic world or in society at large. Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics* did not appear until 1970. Hole and Levine's *Rebirth of Feminism* came out in 1971; Carden's *New Feminist Movement* was published in 1974; Jo Freeman's *Politics of Women's Liberation* in 1975. I recall this chronology because 1969 was an important turning point in my own understanding of changing sex roles. I was denied appointment in the sociology department of a famous eastern women's college. The reasons given forced me to think about the underlying theoretical ideas that help us understand the women's movement. I sought a theoretical key and I discovered a process that I now think guides future change not only in women's roles but in men's roles, and in the ages and stages of the life cycle as well. This process is what I call *crossover,* and I would like to show you how I discovered it and what its significance is for the future.

Back in the fall of 1969 when I asked the chairman of that sociology department to explain the rationale for his decision, he was admirably candid: he did not consider my field of expertise--the changing roles of women--to be basic to the discipline of sociology. I recognized, of course, that it was a small department in which each person had to cover many fields, but I thought I could do that. I asked him what he thought was basic to sociology. He said,"theory and religion," both of which happened to be his fields.

After ten years of looking back on this event, the part I still find most interesting is that I did not know how to reply to the assertion that the study of women was not basic to sociology. I even told this man that I understood what he meant! A current topic, a specialized political issue, but not necessarily fundamental to the central theoretical concepts and theories of the discipline.

The classic tradition in our field, associated with Max Weber and Emile Durkheim, had pursued analysis of social structure and change through examination of religion. I was unable to point to any similar great tradition that linked my topic, the study of women's roles, to the fathers of sociology or to the great sociological classics.

Ascription versus Achievement. Within a year, however, piqued by this experience, I discovered the answer that I should have given. Age and sex are the two fundamental axes of social differentiation that distinguish human beings; around them every social order is ultimately designed. In fact, sociological theorists have long pondered the effects of age and sex on role assignment, reward systems, and latent symbolic associations. Moreover, they have struggled with the difference between these ascribed characteristics that a person cannot change, and the achieved characteristics--such as education or income--that presumably can be changed. Generally the classic theorists believed that with the modernization of societies, the importance of ascribed roles would diminish and would be replaced by the rise of achieved roles. Engels, Toennies, Spencer, Durkheim and Weber all saw society on a march toward greater specialization and differentiation that would bring liberation from the limitations of ascription.

This grand theoretical tradition thus offered one possible interpretation of the modern women's movement. Women from Elizabeth Cady Stanton on had protested the different treatment accorded women and men. By the fact of being female, even educated and propertied women were denied suffrage while the illiterate and penniless man could vote. Much of the feminist ideology was understandable in terms of the tension between ascription and achievement in a rural and frontier society moving toward urbanization and industrialization.

But there are other aspects of the female experience that theorists of the folk-urban continuum could neither foresee nor explain. One problem related to the paradoxical nature of social differentiation: in some instances, social differentiation and specialization result in greater emphasis on achievement and equality, but in others such differentiation brings segregation and backward movement. For example, during the 1830s and 1840s in America there arose a "cult of true womanhood," well described by Barbara Welter. Although women were placed on a pedestal during that period, their lives were more constricted for a time than they had been in the rougher frontier era.

Another major problem with the classic modernization theories is that sex role differences still persist even in highly modern and urban societies. By now it is a familiar fact that even among the most highly educated and achieving women and men, a pervasive sex difference still exists in status attainment. How can such a strong finding be overlooked or explained? Universal patriarchy seems hardly an adequate explanation.

Many American feminists imply that it is merely a matter of time, a matter of modernizing the society further, getting rid of reliance on the ascribed qualities, getting rid of discrimination on the basis of sex, until we will finally base all our role assignments and rewards on individual performance and achievements, rather than on the fact of being female or male.

But I find none of these explanations and alternatives wholly satisfying. Whether coming from the classic sociologists or the modern feminists, such theories all fail to pay sufficient due to the unchangeable and partly biological nature of sex. They treat sex as though it were the same type of ascribed characteristic as the social class origins of one's parents or ethnic or racial membership, features that we can much more easily imagine as disappearing from the major axes of social organization. Instead, age and sex are a different kind of ascribed characteristic. They continue to be important in modern society, not simply as hangovers from traditionalism, butas significant social markers that still define role obligations, especially with respect to the family and care of dependent persons.

Now the question is: how do we reconcile these two opposing tendencies, on the one hand, the disappearance of distinctions based on ascribed characteristics that seems to accompany modernization, and on the other, a persistence of difference that, no matter how hard we try to erase it, seems ineradicable and may perhaps serve some useful social purpose? This is just the question that has occupied me over the last decade. I bring it to you now because I believe it is a question which, when it is writ large, represents a larger dilemma that confronts our whole civilization. I believe the answer to it is embedded in changing age and sex roles.

Alternatives for the Future. Our two major alternatives for the future call on the one hand for progress, growth, and liberation, and on the other for conservation, living with limits, and respecting traditional or natural solutions. Reconciling these two approaches is like integrating achievement with ascription, or equality with difference.

We have two basic traditions to fall back on, but no simple way of putting them together. On the one hand, the Marxian tradition prepares us to see the limits of capitalist society, the end of growth, and the potential contradictions between production for use and production for the market. Critics of our current headlong pursuit of growth and commodification can fall back on this tradition. On the other hand, the Durkheimian tradition celebrates the complex and interdependent division of labor that comes with modern society and brings educational opportunity, freedom of choice, individuality, and liberation. Those seeking liberation from oppressive ascriptive bonds naturally enough imagine that further differentiation and growth of industrial society will be a vehicle to that goal.

Confronted with the tension between these two visions of the future, I turn to a means of integrating the two themes that appear in the changing roles of women, the solution of *crossover*. The idea of crossover is built on the premise that neither process alone--consolidation nor further differentiation--is of itself adequate for understanding the history and future of a society. Instead, both processes must go forward simultaneously, though with perhaps somewhat different emphasis at any given time. To plan for the 1980s then, it is not enough to cut back or live with less. Such consolidation will reward different interest groups unequally and deny opportunity especially to those who are poor. Nor is it any better simply to emphasize forward movement along the lines of specialization that worked in the past. Such progress may serve disadvantaged groups, but may also entrench wasteful and inefficient methods that presently prevail. Crossover is the integrative device that permits social systems to specialize and to consolidate at the same time. At the personal level, crossover is the mechanism that enables individuals to exchange roles either through time in the course of their own life cycle, or at any given time with others by bridging the boundaries of functional specialization.

Crossover is now evident in age roles as greater flexibility makes possible a rearrangement of the traditional life course. It used to be that everyone passed through the same sequence--education, then work and family responsibilities, and finally, leisure. Now as Fred Best and some of the new students of midlife have shown us, it is possible to alter this pattern to intersperse education and leisure more evenly throughout the life course. This phenomenon represents to me the greater possibilities now before us for crossover in age roles and the life cycle.

At the same time crossover has become increasingly evident in sex roles. Not only have women powerfully demonstrated over the past decade that they can effectively perform tasks once thought appropriate only to men. In addition, the penetration of role boundaries has also moved the other way. Men appear to participate more in child rearing, cooking, and certain other family responsibilities. And even if the clock time that they put into these tasks still falls far short of the need, the new ideology of men's liberation and its accompanying critique of macho life style is a sign that sex roles are not merely moving toward the greater occupational specialization that we associate with the male role.[1] Instead crossover in sex roles is also changing men's roles in the direction of coping and flexible adaptation that have so long been characteristic of women.

These new themes in adulthood and the life cycle are not merely accidental or ephemeral. They have appeared during the same decade because they stem from the same underlying structural changes in the larger society--role specialization and differentiation, and the loosening of ascriptive ties. These crossover patterns also suggest a direction for future change because they describe where society is moving, and how women's roles and the adult life course will change as a result.

This is precisely the kind of knowledge needed for design of public policy in the future. The crossover motif suggests that we must design future programs which permit flexibility in the life course, and the sharing of occupational and family responsibilities between men and women. Building on this assumption, let me describe in greater detail the connections that I see between theoretical and policy developments now in process and the trends in sex and age roles that I have outlined. First, focusing on women's roles, I shall review briefly some of the major structural changes that have occurred and the policy initiatives currently under consideration that stem from the crossover process. Then, turning to policies related to age, I shall link the new moves for flexibility in training, working hours, and entitlements to the discovery that flexibility is also possible between ages and stages of the individual life course.

Crossover Between Men's and Women's Roles. How does crossover work in modern sex roles? Actually I think crossover is a third-generation sociological concept for understanding the integrative processes of society. First-generation concepts invented by the earliest sociological theorists relied heavily on the notion of ascribed or achieved roles and status. The problem for the nineteenth century theorists was to explain the enormous changes that accompanied industrialization and the move to the cities. To understand the changing roles of women it was sufficient to see a rough correspondence between the achievement-based society that they predicted and the rise of a women's movement in all major countries in the 1880s and 1890s. That women did not have to marry, that they should want higher education and admission to the professions, that they should claim the right to vote were all signs of a vast transformation in the nature of women's ascribed roles and status that had prevailed in traditional society.[2] Progress toward greater specialization, a more tightly knit division of labor, the organic solidarity that Durkheim described, seemed evident in this worldwide surge toward liberation on the part of all enlightened women. Such an interpretation of changing sex roles prevailed among leading theorists up through the writing of Ralph Linton in the mid 1930s.

Then came the Second World War and a new more advanced behavioral science that worked with abstract concepts and general principles to describe culture, psychology, and social systems. A leading center for these developments was the Harvard Department of Social Relations and in it the leading sociologist Talcott Parsons. It is with the work of Parsons and Bales that I associate what came to be a second-generation concept for understanding sex roles in personality and the larger society. In 1955 Parsons and Bales published *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process* and in it they extended general principles derived from the theory and observation of small groups to the family roles of women and men. They associated the instrumental role of task leader with the father's role and the expressive function of managing the socio-emotional dimension with the mother's role, although the mother could take an instrumental role with her child. In other words, ascribed roles based on sex or age could be broken down into interchangeable abstract components that could be rearranged according to the functions involved. Parsons and Bales' distinction between instrumental and expressive functions represented a theoretical advance beyond gross biological or psychoanalytic categories that directly identified social roles with "male" or "female" sex of the person who performed the role. The instrumental/expressive distinction made possible a more refined analysis of sex roles and recognized relativity in role assignment according to social context (fathers might play an expressive role toward their daughters; mothers a combined instrumental and expressive role when they were the only parent in a family system). But inevitably such complex possibilities were lost in translation. Parsons and Bales' work became famous (or infamous) for its alleged stereotyping and equating of women's roles with the expressive and men's with the instrumental functions of social life.

The reasons for the stereotypic emphasis are not hard to see. The years following World War II saw a celebration of the suburban family with the husband/father in school or a career and the wife/mother at home or in a temporary job to tide the family over while the man finished his education. Parsons and Bales' instrumental/expressive dichotomy helped interpret this new phenomenon, a type of marital partnership that heretofore had been unknown in a rural and small town society where middle class couples were supported by farms or small businesses. The burgeoning professions and technical occupations of the 1950s and 1960s actually represented an advance in the occupational specialization of our modern society. A logical extension of this theme was that the socio-emotional functions of the wife/mother and the tasks of the nuclear family would become more specialized as well. During the fifties the family shed many aspects of household production--gardening, sewing, canning and preserving. But entertaining increased, and most of all, the investment in reproduction and childrearing. For a time it appeared that, like the occupational world, the family too was becoming more specialized, only that its focus was in the expressive or socio-emotional realm of stabilizing adult personalities and socializing children rather than in the economy or production. The 1950s thus appeared to be yet another refined variation on a theme first sounded during the Industrial Revolution. The functions of the family that had earlier included both economic and reproductive tasks were being separated or differentiated into two streams, one that was now diverted into the work place and was associated with the male role, the other that remained in the home and became the reason for being of the female role.

The great trouble with this second-generation concept of instrumental and expressive roles was that it utterly failed to predict the further changes in sex roles that were already in motion. Young women graduating from college in the 1950s (my own generation) were supposedly members of a silent generation, dutifully marrying quickly, putting their husbands through school, and then having lots of children and staying home for the rest of their lives. But when we look at this generation today, we see that they have the highest continuous labor force participation rates of any women of their age in American history.[3] What happened in their lives, and what implications are we to derive from their experience that will better inform our theories and policies for the future than the classic sociolgical concepts with which we have worked in the past?

At just this point we need to refer to what I have termed a third-generation view of the differentation process, a view that emphasizes not simply progress toward individual liberation as understood by the first generation, nor specialization in a complex division of labor as celebrated by the second generation, but instead a potential for equality with *crossover between specialized roles* that our own generation has begun to envision. I prefer the word crossover to the more general term equality because it is theoretically more useful: it reveals the process by which equality will be attained.[4] To many people equality implies sameness, but obviously in important respects males and females are not the same. The crossover metaphor creates an image of bridges between territories that are different, that may never be entirely merged with each other; the image also implies that movement can occur in both directions. Such a concept represents a sociological advance in differentiation theories for two reasons. First, it implies that equality need not result in de-differentiation, or movement back to a simpler society; it can be built on the specialization and boundaries between territiories that are already in place. In fact specialization may be a prerequisite to the flexibility and interchangeability of tasks that permits crossover. Second, the crossover concept makes room for several kinds of values, several kinds of role and function, that have potentially equal value to the larger social system. In other words movement across the bridges between roles need not, indeed probably should not, take place in only one direction. Thus, as we all learned from the civil rights movement that "black is beautiful" and that one's true contributions to society may be best made not when imitating others, but when being one's self, so also feminists are now learning that following a male model to success may be a dead end, that women have a different vision of reality, and that they must be true to this alternative pattern, not only for their own good but for the good of society.

Convergence on the crossover concept has come slowly and painfully. Its two major implications are still subjects for controversy: (1) that equality builds on further differentation as well as de-differentiation, and (2) that equality can be built on recognition of differences as well as sameness. Nevertheless, the course of research on changing sex roles since 1960 bears out my contention that the crossover theme is the major new paradigm that we now use for understanding contemporary sex role change and for designing future policies.

The evidence for this new paradigm may be found first in the major feminist writings of our era. in 1963 Betty Friedan was the first to criticize the "functionalist freeze" in the theory of sex roles for which Parsons and others were responsible. Close on her heels came Alice Rossi with her "immodest proposal" for equality between the sexes, who also in 1964 criticized the functionalists for emphasizing differences between the sexes to the disadvantage of women. Rossi was among the first contemporary feminists to call for men's participation in housework and child rearing, along with women's participation in the world of work. Equality between the sexes thus presupposed a crossover or interpenetration of the functions heretofore assigned to one gender or the other. The way out of the functionalist freeze was not a return to a simpler society (de-differentiation) but progress toward an even more flexible and interchangeable array of roles. In her book on work and family published in 1977 Rosabeth Moss Kanter in fact demonstrated that such interpenetration of the instrumental and expressive worlds has already begun. Informal expressive ties exist in the workplace; rationality, planning, and instrumental activities characterize many activiites of the home.

My own interpretation of these shifting intellectual currents is that not just the sociological theories have changed, but society and sex roles have also changed. In the post-war era many tasks, whether cooking a meal in the home with packaged foods, or driving a big bus with power steering, became more specialized; many jobs were broken into several more precise operations, some of which could be done by nonexperts or by machinery. The result was that many tasks could now be performed by persons who under the old system were not qualified. This change transformed the consiousness of all the people concerned. A man could put a frozen dinner in the oven. A woman could drive a big bus. Certain qualifications once thought intrinsically necessary to doing a job were not in fact so. Persons or roles initially thought to be totally different from each other were under these new conditions perceived as sharing in actuality certain common or universal qualities that enabled the formerly unqualified to perform adequately under the new conditions. Role specialization and differentiation, when carried far enough, thus made possible an exchange of tasks that were once believed almost inextricably tied to sex.

The proof of this new crossover concept will come in testing it against the future. Already it appears far more adequate than its predecessors to the task of explaining women's rising labor force participation, men's experimentation with work and family roles, and public sentiment on behalf of policies and programs such as day care and flexible working hours.

In addition, the crossover idea predicts and explains a new kind of feminism that has only surfaced in the last few years, found in the women's studies movement, for example, that celebrates women's special qualities and different construction of reality. The same Alice Rossi who in 1964 called for equality between the sexes in 1977 distinguished between the biosocial differences in parenting capacities of mothers and fathers. The crossover metaphor recognizes that integration and differentiation go hand in hand. Advances in equality do not take place without parallel recognition of individual difference and individual worth.

Changes in sex roles are in some sense a shorthand formula for reconciliation and balance of many necessary and opposing forces in any society. Equality between the sexes can stand for the integration of the instrumental and the expressive, the reconciliation of external and the internal, figure and the ground, growth and limits of growth, transcendence and imminence, culture and nature. Little is to be gained by making one polarity do away with the other, or by trying to merge them into each other. Instead the challenge is to see how to find dignity for each dimension and at the same time permit maximum individual freedom to mix and match qualities found at each extreme. Achievement, role differentiation, and crossover have been the three major visions for attaining equality that have prevailed up to now. Each concept has been appropriate to the society of its time because it corresponded with a certain level of societal complexity. In our own era where crossover is now apparent in sex roles, it will probably also develop in other ascribed roles as well. I see it in age roles and I believe it can serve there as a valuable theoretical guide to past and future change and appropriate social policies just as it has in the realm of sex roles.

Crossover in Adult Roles and the Life Cycle. In the mid 1970s when I first began reading current analyses of aging and the midlife period, I was puzzled by what seemed to me two opposing themes. One was an emphasis on ever more refined stages in the adult life cycle. Daniel Levinson carried the matter so far as to describe an early adult era (with three distinct phases), a middle adult era (with another three phases), and a late adult era. On the other hand, other writers such as Pearlin, Fiske, or Brim were very skeptical of any stages at all. And throughout all the new materials on the midlife period, there lies a pervasive theme of change, adaptability, flexibility, going back in order to go forward, and so on. What is to made of this confusing array?

To me the answer is clear even before all the evidence is in. The phenomenon we are witnessing in age roles is a precise analog to current transformations in sex roles. The progressive refinement of ages and stages of life is a differentiation or specialization process. It stems from demographic, and economic changes in the larger society that appear to define the tasks of each age more precisely, but its overall effect is exactly the opposite. The process of refining developmental tasks into ever more discrete bundles makes them more movable across the boundaries of any particular moment in time. Developmental tasks can be broken apart and can be recombined in somewhat different sequences than traditionally thought possible. Neugarten and Hagestad have described the new combinations that result:

> ... Ours seems to be a society that has become accustomed to 70-year-old students, 30-year-old college presidents, 22-year-old mayors, 35-year-old grandmothers, 50-year-old retirees, 65-year-old fathers of preschoolers, 60-year-olds and 30-year-olds wearing the same clothing styles, and 85-year-old parents caring for 65-year-old offspring. To the extent that the strength of age norms is reflected in the variability around modal patterns, we seem to be moving in the direction of what might be called an age-irrelevant society; and it can be argued that age, like race or sex, is diminishing in importance as a regulator of behavior.[5]

What implications should we draw from this analysis for policy that affects women and men at different stages of the life cycle? I believe the answers are analogous to those already outlined in connection with changing sex roles. We should design policies that permit maximum crossover and maximum flexibility so that persons can take up developmental tasks according to their own schedule, and their own individual life history. For some, education may come after childbearing and early work experience; for others, the sequence will be reversed; for still others, there will be a nonlinear or cyclical pattern of intermittent involvement in paid employment, education, and leisure.

Already we see signs that this new outlook on crossover between the stages of life, or flexibility across the life cycle, is gaining ground in policies for continuing education, critical examination of homemakers' rights to pensions and Social Security, and expectation about hiring and retraining of women workers.

The new frontier for acceptance of these changes will next be in men's roles. If the principles of flexibility and adaptability that women have so perceptively applied can be extended to the education, hiring, and entitlement of men, equality for women will be much nearer realization than it is at the moment. We know that women have paid dearly for the flexibility and adaptability that they have maintained on behalf of their family responsibilities. They have been relegated to the secondary sector of the labor market while men have dominated the primary sector. But rather than encourage all women to follow the male pattern, I would rather note the contribution of both the female and male life patterns to the collective good. Our goal should be maximum opportunity for choice on the part of each sex--based on their individual circumstances at a particular moment in time, not just on a sexual label.

This then is the crossover theme: expanding the opportunity in our society to celebrate individual differences and yet experience qualities and activities formerly denied. This is truly a theme of human liberation. In it we share a quest for human possibility and goodness that also occupied our intellectual forebears. We have had to build on their ideas in ways appropriate to our time. Hopefully the answers that we have discovered will indeed prove valid and useful for a good many years to come.

Footnotes

1. For the new literature on the male role, see Kathleen Grady et al., *The Male Sex Role: A Selected and Annotated Bibliography;* Robert A. Lewis and Joseph H. Pleck (Eds.), *Men's Roles in the Family;* and Joseph Pleck and Robert Brannon (Eds.), *Male Roles and the Male Experience.*

2. Engels provided a powerful analysis of the shift in sex roles that accompanied change from traditional society to capitalism in *The Origin of the Family, Property and the State.* Documentation of the worldwide interest in suffrage and temperance among women at the turn of the century appears in Paulson's *Women's Suffrage and Prohibition.*

3. *Economic Report of the President*, p.94

4. I have used this concept in Giele, "Changes in the Modern Family: Their Impact on Sex Roles," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 1971; in *Women and the Future* in 1978; and in "Adulthood as Transcendence of Age and Sex," in 1980.

5. Neugarten and Hagestad, p. 52.

Bibliography

Best, Fred. "Preferences on Worklife Scheduling and Work-leisure Tradeoffs." *Monthly Labor Review*, June 1978, 31-37.

Brim, Orville G., Jr. "On the Properties of Life Events." Kurt Lewin Memorial Address. Presented at annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Sept. 3, 1979, New York.

Carden, Maren Lockwood. *The New Feminist Movement.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1974.

Durkheim, Emile. *The Division of Labor in Society.* (1893). New York: The Free Press, 1960.

Durkheim, Emile. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life.* (1912). New York: The Free Press, 1954.

Economic Report of the President. Washington, D.C.: Government

Women's Lives
Printing Office, 1973.

Fiske, Marjorie. "Changing Hierarchies of Commitment in Adulthood." In N. J. Smelser and E. H. Erikson (Eds.), *Themes of Work and Love in Adulthood*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980.

Engels, Frederick. *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (1884). Edited with an introduction by E. B. Leacock, New York: International Publishers, 1972.

Freeman, Jo. *The Politics of Women's Liberation*. New York: McKay, 1975.

Friedan, Betty. *The Feminine Mystique*. New York: Norton, 1963.

Giele, Janet Zollinger. "Changes in the Modern Family: Their Impact on Sex Roles." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 41 (October, 1971): 757-766.

Giele, Janet Zollinger. "New Developments in Research on Women." Introductory essay to *The Feminine Character* by Viola Klein. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1972.

Giele, Janet Zollinger. *Women and the Future: Changing Sex Roles in Modern America*. New York: The Free Press, 1978.

Giele, Janet Zollinger. "Adulthood as Transcendence of Age and Sex." In N. J. Smelser and E. H. Erikson (Eds.), *Themes of Work and Love in Adulthood*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980.

Grady, Kathleen E., Robert Brannon, and Joseph H. Pleck. *The Male Sex Role: A Selected and Annotated Bibliography*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1979.

Hole, Judith, and Ellen Levine. *Rebirth of Feminism*. New York: Quadrangle, 1971.

Kanter, Rosabeth Moss. *Work and Family in the United States*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1977.

Levinson, Daniel J. *The Seasons of a Man's Life*. New York: Knopf, 1978.

Lewis, Robert A., and Joseph H. Pleck (Eds.) *Men's Roles in the Family*. Special issue of *The Family Coordinator*, Vol. 28, no. 4, October 1979.

Linton, Ralph. *The Study of Man*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1936.

Marx, Karl. *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy* (1867).

Translated by Ben Fowkes, New York: Random House, 1976.

Millett, Kate. *Sexual Politics.* Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1970.

Neugarten, Bernice, and Gunhild O. Hagestad. "Age and the Life Course." In R. H. Binstock and E. Shanas (Eds.), *Handbook of Aging and the Social Sciences.* New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1976.

Parsons, Talcott, and Robert F. Bales. *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process.* New York: The Free Press, 1955.

Paulson, Ross Evans. *Women's Suffrage and Prohibition: A Comparative Study of Equality and Social Control.* Glenview, Ill: Scott, Foresman, 1973.

Pearlin, Leonard I. "Life-Strains and Psychological Distress Among Adults." In N. J. Smelser and E. H. Erikson (Eds.), *Themes of Work and Love in Adulthood.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980.

Pleck, Joseph, and Robert Brannon (Eds.). *Male Roles and the Male Experience.* Special issue of the *Journal of Social Issues,* Vol. 34, no. 1, 1978.

Rossi, Alice S. "Equality between the Sexes: An Immodest Proposal." *Daedalus,* Spring 1964.

Rossi, Alice S. "A Biosocial Perspective on Parenting." *Daedalus,* Spring, 1977.

Spencer, Herbert. *The Principles of Sociology.* New York: Appleton, 1896.

Toennies, Ferdinand. *Fundamental Concepts of Sociology* (Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft, 1887). Translated and supplemented by Charles P. Loomis. New York: American Book Co.

Weber, Max. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904-05). Translated by Talcott Parsons. New York: Scribners, 1958.

Weber, Max. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (1925). Translated by Talcott Parsons and A. M. Henderson. New York: The Free Press, 1947.

Welter, Barbara. *Dimity Convictions: The American Woman in the Nineteenth Century.* Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1976.

RESTORING THE MISSING TEXT OF WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT TO LIFE CYCLE THEORIES

Carol Gilligan

In considering women's life cycle and the states and sequence of their development, a critical question is one of judgment: how that development is to be assessed. Because in its recent expansion, the field of adult development has been explored largely on the territory of the masculine domain *(Daedalus,* 1976; Vaillant, 1977; Levinson, 1978), it is easy to interpret the lives of women through constructs derived from studies of men.

Do women have mentors, we begin to ask? Are their lives steered by pursuit of a dream? Through such questions the pattern of male experience that has shaped theories of child and adolescent development begins to impose its dimensions as well on the emergent psychology of adult development. Since a developmental psychology hangs from its vertex of maturity (Piaget, 1970), the conception of adulthood is critical not only in charting development in adult life but also in shaping retrospectively the entire preceding sequence. For the study of women's lives to bring new insights to the understanding of human development, it is necessary for that study to begin with descriptive or ethnographic accounts of women's experience in the adult years to admit new constructs to the understanding of what constitutes maturity.

In my presentation I begin with the central concepts of attachment and separation that inform the psychology of human development and describe the cycle of human life. These concepts which arise from the study of infancy resurface in adolescence as identity and intimacy and then in adulthood as love and work. When, however, development is charted, following the initial attachment of mother and child, through a series of progressive separations which extend through childhood and adolescence, continuing relationships tend to appear as impediments to growth, smothering the possibilities for development that lie in autonomy and independence. While the apogee of separation in adolescence presumably is followed by the return of attachment and care in the intimacy of love and the generativity of work, the line of their development remains unclear. Current studies of men's lives in their insistent focus on self and work provide scanty illumination of an adulthood spent in the activities of relationship and care. It is not clear from Erikson's studies that identity is followed by intimacy; Levinson reports that his men lack friendships and Vaillant's have trouble describing their wives.

Thus there seems to be a line of development missing from current psychological accounts, a failure to describe the progression of relationships toward a maturity of interdependence or to trace the evolution of the capacity for responsible care. While the truth of separation is recognized in most developmental texts, the reality of continuing connection is lost or relegated to the shadowy background where the figures of women appear.

My work at present is directed toward tracing the development of relationships of care by delineating the growth in social understanding that describes the evolution of responsibility. In this presentation I discuss two sections drawn from that work: a study of men's and women's development in the time between adolescence and adulthood, and a view of women's personality and work in the middle years. In doing so, I will show how the addition of a second line of developmental interpretation attuned to the history of attachment and care expands the understanding of life cycle development and changes the view of both of the sexes.

Becoming an Adult: Do Men and Women Differ? In young adulthood when identity and intimacy converge in dilemmas of conflicting commitment, the relationship of self and other is exposed, revealing the lines of its articulation. That the understanding of this relationship differs in the experience of women and men has been a steady finding in the psychological literature and centers the recurrent observations of sex differences (McClelland, 1975; Block, 1977: Witkin, 1979). From the different dynamics of separation and attachment in their gender identity formation (Chodorow, 1978) through the divergence of identity and intimacy that marks their experience in the adolescent years (Erikson, 1968; Douvan and Adelson, 1966), male and female voices typically have spoken of the importance of different truths, the former of the role of separation in development as it comes to define and empower the self, the latter of the ongoing process of attachment that creates and sustains the human community.

Since this dialogue contains the dialectic that creates the ongoing tension of human development, the silence of women in the literature on adult development distorts the conception of its stage and sequence. Thus in this presentation, I restore in part the missing text of women's development, as they describe their conceptions of self and morality in the time of transition from adolescence to adulthood. In focusing primarily on evidence of difference between the accounts of women and men, my aim is to enlarge developmental understanding by including the perspectives of both the sexes. While the judgments considered in the following discussion come from a small and highly educated sample, they frame an understanding of adult development that illuminates not only what is missing in women but also what is there, making it possible at the same time to see in men aspects of development that are often overlooked.

The participants in the study to which I refer (Gilligan and Murphy, 1979; Murphy and Gilligan, 1980) were an unequal number of men and women from the Harvard class of 1973, selected as sophomores by their decision to take a course on moral and political choice. At age 27, the five women in the study all were actively pursuing careers, two in medicine, one in law, one in social science and one as a union organizer. In the five years following their graduation from Harvard, three had married and one had a child.

When they were asked, at age 27, "How would you describe yourself to yourself?", one of the women refused to reply, but the other four gave the following descriptions as their first response to the interviewer's question:

> This sounds sort of strange, but I think maternal, with all its connotations. I see myself in a nurturing role, maybe not right now, but whenever that might be, as a physician, as a mother...it's hard for me to think of myself without thinking about other people around me that I'm giving to.
>
> I am fairly hard-working and fairly thorough and fairly responsible, and in terms of weaknesses, I am sometimes hesitant about making decisions and unsure about myself and afraid of doing things and taking responsibility, and I think maybe that is one of the biggest conflicts I have had...the other very important aspect of my life is my husband and trying to make his life a little easier and trying to help him out.
>
> I am a hysteric, I am intense, I am warm, I am very smart about people...I have a lot more soft feelings than hard feelings, I am a lot easier to get to be kind than to get mad...if I had to say one work, and to me it incorporates a lot, "adopted."

> I have sort of changed a lot. As I told you before, at the point of the last interview [at age 22] I felt like I was the kind of person who was interested in growth and trying hard, and its seems to me that the last couple of years, the not trying is someone who is not growing, and I think that is the thing that bothers me the most, the thing that I keep thinking about, that I am not growing. It's not true, I am, but what seems to be a failure partially is the way that Tom and I broke up. Like, I hurt Tom a lot and that bothers me. So I am thinking of myself as somebody who tries not to hurt people, but I ended up hurting him a lot, and so that's something that weighs on me, that I am somebody who unintentionally hurts people. Or a feeling, lately, that it is simple to sit down and say what your principles are, what your values are, and what I think about myself but the way it sort of works out in actuality is sometimes very different. You can say you try not to hurt people, but you might because of things about yourself, or you can say this is my principle, but when the situation comes up, you don't really behave the way you would like...so I consider myself contradictory and confused.

The request for self-description came at the end of an interview in which the women described personal experiences of moral conflict and choice and discussed their resolution of hypothetical moral dilemmas. Throughout the interview the qualification that punctuated the women's moral judgments and self-descriptions indicated not only doubt and confusion but also a constant attentiveness to others, an overriding concern with seeing both sides and an awareness of the context and the consequences of choice. The fusion of identity and intimacy that has repeatedly been described in women's development (Erikson, 1968; Douvan and Adelson, 1966; Bettelheim, 1965) is perhaps nowhere more clearly articulated than in the text of these self-descriptions. In response to the request to describe themselves, all of the women describe a relationship, depicting their identity in the connection of future mother, present wife, adopted child or past lover. Similarly the standard of moral judgment that informs their assessment of self is a standard of relationship and nurturance, an ethic of responsibility and care. Measuring their strength in the activity of attachment ("giving to," "helping out," "being kind," and "not hurting"), these highly successful and achieving women do not mention their academic and professional distinction in the context of describing themselves (Henning and Jardin, 1977; Rubin, 1979).[1]

If anything, they regard their professional activities as jeopardizing their sense of themselves, and the conflict they encounter between achievement and care leaves them divided in judgment or feeling betrayed.

> When I first applied to medical school, my feeling was

> that I was a person who was concerned with other people and being able to care for them in some way or another, and I was running into problems the last few years as far as my being able to give of myself, my time and what I am doing to other people. And medicine, even though it seems that profession is set up to do exactly that, seems to more or less interfere with your doing it....To me it felt like I wasn't really growing, that I was just treading water, trying to cope with what I was doing and that made me very angry in some ways because it wasn't the way that I wanted things to go.

The woman who refused to describe herself, said it was "too tough" and "I can't get it together" at the end of what "really had been a rough week." During the week, she had as a lawyer faced the dilemma of whether to tell the opposing counsel in a case of the existence of a document providing critical support for his client's "meritorious claim." Deciding that in her own tenuous position, she could not take on the adversary system of justice or make an exception to its rules, she nevertheless felt the adversarial system had interfered not only with the search for truth but also with the expression of her concern for the client on the other side. When asked to describe someone important to her, she describes her mother as "a very caring person," though with the qualification that she cares only about family and close friends. The person whom she says she admires is Albert Schweitzer, because he was "selfless" and "a great man...going to Africa and living in conditions that I would consider difficult to live in and treating, helping those who needed help with very little reward for it really."

Thus in all the women's descriptions, identity is defined in a context of relationship and judged by a standard of responsibility and care. Morality is seen by these women as arising from the experience of connection and conceived as a problem of inclusion rather than one of balancing claims. This underlying assumption that morality stems from attachment is explicitly stated by one of the women in her response to Kohlberg's dilemma as to whether a man should steal an overpriced drug in order to save the life of his wife. Her reason for saying the husband should steal stems not from a priority of rights but rather from the need to restore the lines of human connection. In her view, the moral problem in the dilemma lies in the druggist's failure to see the connection between himself and the wife rather than in the violation of law constituted by the husband's theft. Explaining her judgment, she elaborates the assumption on which her understanding of social reality is based.

> By yourself, there is little sense to things. It is like the sound of one hand clapping, the sound of one man or one woman, there is something lacking. It is the collective that is important to me and that collective is based on certain guiding principles, one of which is that everybody belongs to it and that you all come from it...(and) you have to love someone else because while you may not

> like them you are inseparable from them. In a way, it is like loving your right hand, they are a part of you, that other person is part of that giant collection of people that you are connected to.

To this aspiring maternal physician, the sound of one hand clapping seems not a miraculous transcendence but a human absurdity, the illusion of a person standing alone in a reality of interconnection. For the women in this sample and others, the principles or morality are principles of relationships--an ethic of non-violence and love that engenders responsibility for taking care.

Male Identity and Separation. For the men, the tone of identity is different, clearer, more direct, more distinct and sharp-edged. Even when disparaging the concept itself, they radiate the confidence of certain truth. While the world of the self that men describe at times includes "people" and "deep attachments," no particular person or relationship is mentioned nor is the activity of relationship portrayed in the context of self-description. Replacing the women's verbs of attachment are the adjectives of separation--"intelligent," "logical," "imaginative," "honest," sometimes even "arrogant" and "cocky." Thus the male "I" is defined in separation and seen as having "real contacts" and "deep emotions" or, otherwise wishing for them.

In a randomly selected half of the sample, the men from the same Harvard class as the women, similarly situated in occupational and marital position, give the following initial responses to the request for self-description.

> [How would you describe yourself to yourself?]
>
> Logical, compromising, outwardly calm. If it seems like my statements are short and abrupt, it is because of my background and training. Architectural statements have to be very concise and short. Accepting. Those are all on an emotional level. I consider myself educated, reasonably intelligent.
>
> I would describe myself as an enthusiastic, passionate person who is slightly arrogant. Concerned, committed, very tired right now because I didn't get much sleep last night.
>
> I would describe myself as a person who is well developed intellectually and emotionally. Relatively narrow circle of friends, acquaintances, persons with whom I have real contacts as opposed to professional contacts or "community" contacts. And relatively proud of the intellectual skills and development, content with the emotional development as such, as a "not very actively pursued goal." Desiring to broaden that one, the emotional aspect.

> Intelligent, perceptive, I am being brutally honest now, still somewhat reserved, unrealistic about a number of social situations which involve other people, particularly authorities. Improving, looser, less tense and hung up than I used to be. Somewhat lazy, although it is hard to say how much of that is tied up with other conflicts. Imaginative, sometimes too much so. A little dilettantish, interested in a lot of things without necessarily going into them in depth, although I am moving toward correcting that.
>
> I would tend to describe myself first by recounting a personal history, where I was born, grew up, and that kind of thing, but I am dissatisfied with that. Having done it thousands of times, it doesn't seem to capture the essence of what I am, I would probably decide after another futile attempt, because there is no such thing as the essence of what I am, and be very bored by the whole thing...I don't think that there is any such thing as myself. There is myself sitting here, there is myself tomorrow, and so on.
>
> Evolving and honest...
>
> I guess on the surface, I seem a little easy going and laid back but I think I am probably a bit more wound up than that. I tend to get wound up very easily. Kind of smart aleck, a little bit, or cocky maybe. Not as thorough as I should be. A little bit hard ass, I guess, and a guy that is not swayed by emotions and feelings. I have deep emotions but I am not a person who has a lot of different people. I have attachments to a few people, very deep attachments. Or attachments to a lot of things, at least in the demonstrable sense.
>
> I guess I think I am kind of creative and also a little bit schizophrenic...a lot of it is a result of how I grew up. There is a kind of longing for the pastoral life, and at the same time, a desire for the flash, prestige and recognition that you get by going out and hustling.

While two of the men begin more tentatively by talking about people in general, they return in the end to "great ideas" or a need for distinctive achievement.

> I think I am basically a decent person. I think I like people a lot and I like liking people, I like doing things with pleasure from just people, from their existence, almost. Even people I don't know well. When I said I was a decent person, I think that is almost the thing that makes me a decent person, that is, a decent quality, a good quality. I think I am very bright. I think I am

> a little lost, not acting quite like I am inspired, whether it is just a question of lack of inspiration, I don't know, but not doing..(not) accomplishing things, not achieving those things and not knowing where I want to go or what I'm doing. I think most people, especially doctors, have some idea of what they are going to be doing in four years. I (an intern) really have a blank...I have great ideas...(but) I can't imagine me in them.
>
> I guess the things that I like to think are important to me are: I am aware of what is going on around me, other people's needs around me, and the fact that I enjoy doing things for other people and I feel good about it. I suppose it's nice in my situation, but I am not sure that is true for everybody. I think some people do things for other people and it doesn't make them feel good. Once in awhile, that is true of me too, for instance, working around the house, and I am always doing the same old things that everyone else is doing and eventually, I build up some resentment toward that.

At least in this small sample, men's descriptions of self through involvement with others are tied to a qualification of identity rather than seen as its realization. Instead of attachment, individual achievement rivets the male imagination and defines the standard of self-assessment and success.

Thus the sequential ordering of identity and intimacy through which Erikson describes the transition from adolescence to adulthood better fits as he recognizes the development of men than it does the development of women. Power and separation secure the man in an identity achieved through work, but leave him at a distance from others, who seem in some sense out of his sight. Then intimacy becomes the critical experience that brings the self back into connection with others, making it possible to see both sides and to discover the actual consequences of choice. The experience of relationship brings an end to isolation which otherwise hardens into indifference, an absence of active concern for others through perhaps a willingness to respect their rights. For this reason, intimacy is the transformative experience for men through which adolescent identity turns into the generativity of love and work. In the process, as Erikson observes, the knowledge gained through intimacy changes the ideological morality of adolescene into the adult ethic of taking care (Erikson, 1964).

Since women, however, define their identity through relationships of intimacy and care, the moral problems that they encounter pertain to issues of a different sort. When relationships are secured by masking desire and when conflict is avoided by equivocation, then the absence of integrity leads to confusion about the locus of responsibility and truth. The critical experience then becomes not one of intimacy but rather of choice, separating self from other through action that generates the awareness of agency and of personal responsibility.

Two Different Moralities. Thus in the transition from adolescence to adulthood, the dilemma, itself, is the same for both sexes, the conflict between integrity and care, but approached from a different perspective by each, and generating the recognition of opposite truths. These different perspectives are reflected in two different moral ideologies, where separation is justified by an ethic of rights, while attachment is supported by an ethic of care.

The morality of rights is predicated on equality and centered on the understanding of justice as fairness while the ethic of responsibility is based on the concept of equity and the recognition of differences in the need for care. While the ethic of rights is a manifestation of equal respect, balancing the claims of self and other, the ethic of responsibility generates instead the understanding that gives rise to compassion and care. Thus the counterpoint of identity and intimacy that marks the time between childhood and adulthood is articulated through two different moralities whose complementarity is the discovery of maturity.

The discovery of this complementarity was traced in the study of moral and ego development through the responses to interview questions about personal experiences of moral conflict and choice. Two lawyers chosen from this sample illustrate how the divergence in judgment between the sexes is resolved through the discovery by each of the other's perspective and of the interrelationship between integrity and care. Then only a difference in tone reveals what was known by each from the beginning and what was discovered through subsequence experience.

The woman lawyer who would not describe herself considered self-sacrificing acts to be "courageous" and "praiseworthy," and believed that "if everyone on earth behaved in a way that showed care for others and courage, the world would be a much better place, you wouldn't have crime and you might not have poverty." This moral ideal of self-sacrifice and care, however, ran into trouble in a relationship where the conflicting truths of each person's feelings made it impossible to avoid hurt. Describing how the contradication arose by indicating how her thinking about morality had changed, she says:

> I was much more simple-minded then (at the beginning of college). I went through a period in which I thought there were fairly simple answers of right and wrong in life. I even went through a period that now strikes me as so simplistic, (I thought) that as long as I didn't hurt anybody, everything would be fine. And I soon figured out or eventually figured out that things were not that simple; that you were bound to hurt people,

> they were bound to hurt you, and life is full of tension and conflict and people are bound to hurt each other's feelings, intentionally, unintentionally, but just in the very way things work out, so I abandoned that idea.

This abandonment occurred during the first years of college when:

> I got involved in a love-affair with some guy...(who) wanted to settle down and get married and I could not imagine a worse fate but I was really quite fond of him. And we broke up and he was so upset by it that he left school for a year, and I realized that I had hurt him very badly and that I hadn't meant to and I violated my first principle of moral behavior, but that I had made the right decision.

Explaining that she "could not have possibly married him," she felt there was, in that sense, an "easy answer" to the dilemma she faced. Yet in another sense, given her moral injunction against hurting, the situation presented an insoluble problem, offering no course of action that would not cause hurt. This realization led her to question her former absolute moral injunction and to "figure that this principle (of not hurting anybody) was not all there was to it." Indicating that she has "started thinking more about maintaining your personal integrity," she says that her experience led her to conclude that "you can't worry about not hurting other people; just do what is right for you."

Yet given her continuing equation of morality with the activity of caring for others, her continuing belief that "acts that are self-sacrificing and that are done for other people or for the good of humanity are good acts," her abandonment of the principle of not hurting others was tantamount to an abandonment of moral concern. In this light, her unwillingness to describe herself may be seen as indicating that in some sense she has become unrecognizeable to herself or that in terms of her own standard of judgment, she can see herself only as compromised. In contrast to her accounts of her own moral compromise, she describes her husband as "a person of absolute integrity (who) would never do anything he didn't feel was right...and will go over backwards to be fair." Given these absolute standards of judgment and her description of what she saw as her own moral failure, she says somewhat apologetically in her own behalf that she has, since college, become more tolerant and more understanding, less ready to blame people whom formerly she would have condemned.

In her own life, the absolute injunction against hurting was found both in relationships and at work to be an inadequate guide to resolving actual dilemmas of moral conflict and choice. Since her discovery of the disparity between intention and consequence and of the actual constraints of choice, there seemed in some situations no way not to hurt. Having confronted dilemmas to which there was no resolution that was without cost, she did not abdicate responsibility for choice but rather began to claim the right to include herself among the people for whom she considered it moral to care. Her more inclusive morality now contained the injunction to be true to herself, leaving her with two principles of judgment whose integration she could not yet clearly envision. What she recognizes is that both integrity and care must be included in a morality that would encompass the actual dilemmas of love and work that arise in the course of adult life.

The move toward tolerance that accompanies the abandonment of absolutes is considered by Perry (1968) to chart the course of intellectual and ethical development during the early adult years. Perry's nine developmental positions describe the changes in thinking that mark the transition from a dualistic epistemology to a contextually relative understanding of truth and choice. This transition and its impact on moral judgment were discerned by Murphy and Gilligan (1980) in the changes that occurred in the moral understanding of both men and women between the ages of 19 and 27. While both sexes moved away from absolutes in this time, the absolutes themselves weredifferent for each. In women's development, an absolute of care defined initially as not hurting others came to be complicated through the recognition of the need for personal integrity. This recognition gave rise to the claim for equality embodied in the concept of rights which informed and changed the understanding of relationships and broadened the definition of care.

For men, the absolutes of truth and of fairness defined through the concepts of equality and reciprocity came into question through experiences that demonstrated the existence of irresolvable differences. Then the awareness of multiple truths led to the relativizing of equality in the direction of equity and gave rise to generosity. For both sexes the existence of two context for decision made judgment by definition contextually relative and led to the realization of responsibility for choice. This recognition changed "the moral environment to the existential," and "ushered in the period of responsibility" (Perry, 1968).

The second context that was discovered by men was the morality of care that informs a different notion of respect that the ethic of justice and rights. The discovery of the reality of differences and thus of the contextual nature of morality and truth was described by a lawyer who began in law school "to realize...that you really don't know everything" and I don't think that you ever know that there is an absolute right. What you do is you have to come down one way or the other. You have got to make a decision."

The awareness that he didn't know everything arose more painfully as well in the context of a relationship whose ending took him completely by surprise. He discovered, meantime, that the woman's experience has been very different from his own.

He realized how distant he had been in a relationship that he had considered as close. Then the logical hierarchy of moral values whose absolute truth he had formerly proclaimed came to seem a barrier to intimacy rather than a fortress of personal integrity. As his conception of morality began to change, his thinking focused on issues of relationship, and his concern with injustice was complicated by a new understanding of human attachment. As "the principle of attachment" began to inform his way of looking at moral problems, he realized that justice extends beyond simple equality and that people have

> real emotional needs to be attached to something and equality doesn't give you attachment. Equality fractures society...(and) places on every person the burden of standing on his own two feet.

While "equality is a crisp thing that you could hang onto," it alone cannot adequately resolve the dilemmas of choice that arise in life. With a new awareness of responsibility and of consequences of choice, he says, "You don't want to look at just equality, you want to look at how people are going to be able to handle their lives." However, while recognizing the need for two contexts for judgment, he finds that their integration "is hard to work through" since sometimes "no matter which way you go, somebody is going to be hurt and somebody is going to be hurt forever." Then he says, "You have reached the point where there is an irresolvable conflict" and choice becomes a matter of "choosing the victim" rather than of enacting the good. With the recognition of the responsibility such choices entail, his judgment comes to be more attuned to the psychological and social consequences of action in an historical world.

Thus, starting from very different points, from the different ideologies of justice and care, the men and women who participated in this study came, in the course of becoming adult, to a greater understanding of both points of view and thus to a greater convergence in judgment. Recognizing the dual contexts of justice and mercy, of the importance of care as well as of equality, they came also to see that judgment depends on the context in which the problem is framed. In this light, I return to the question of judgment as it pertains to the assessment of women at mid-life and suggest that the limitations in the conception of adulthood from which this assessment has proceeded have impeded the understanding of women's experience.

Women's Work and Personality in the Middle Years. Since the unfamiliar waters of adult development are so often charted with the familiar markers of adolescent separation and growth, it is easy to see the middle years of women's lives as a time of return to the unfinished business of adolescence. This interpretation has been particularly compelling since life cycle descriptions have been derived predominantly from studies of men, generating a perspective on human development from which women, insofar as they differ from men, appear consistently to be deficient or deviant. This deviance has been seen as especially marked in the adolescent years, when girls appear to confuse identity with intimacy by defining themselves through relationships with others. The legacy left from this resolution of "the second individuation process of adolescence" is considered to be a self that is vulnerable to the issues of separation which arise at mid-life.

In conclusion, I wish to take issue with this construction by pointing to the limitation in an account which measures women's development against a male standard and ignores the possibility of a different truth. In this light, the observation that women's embeddedness in lives of relationship, their orientation to interdependence, their subordination of achievement to care, and their conflicts over competitive success leave them personally at risk in mid-life seems more a commentary on the society than a problem in women's development.

The construction of mid-life in adolescent terms as a similar crisis of identity and separation ignores the reality of what has happened between and tears up the history of love and of work. For generativity to begin at mid-life, as Vaillant's (1977) data on men suggest, seems from a woman's perspective too late for both sexes, since the bearing and raising of children takes place primarily in the preceding years. Similarly the image of women arriving at mid-life childlike and dependent on others is belied by the activity of their care in nurturing and sustaining family relationships (Stack, 1974; Miller, 1976; Rubin, 1976). Thus the problem appears to be one of construction, an issue of judgment rather than truth.

Based on the evidence that women perceive and construe social reality differently from men, and that these differences center around experiences of attachment and separation, life transitions which invariably engage these experiences can be expected to involve women in a distinctive way. Because women's sense of integrity appears to be entwined with an ethic of care, so that to see herself as a woman is to see herself in a relationship of connection, the major transitions in women's lives seem to involve changes in the understanding and the activities of care. Certainly the shift from childhood to adulthood witnesses a major redefinition of care when the distinction between helping and pleasing frees the activity of taking care from the wish for approval by others, allowing an ethic of responsibility to be a self-chosen anchor of personal integrity.

In the same vein, however, the events of mid-life, the menopause and changes in family and work, can alter the woman's activities of care in ways that affect her sense of herself. If mid-life brings an end to relationships, an end to the sense of connection on which she relies as well as to the activities of care through which she judges her worth, then the mourning that accompanies all life transitions can give way to the melancholia of self-deprecation and despair. The meaning of mid-life events for women is contextual in the sense that it arises through the interaction between the structures of her thought and the realities of her life.

When the distinction between neurotic and real conflict is made, and the reluctance to choose is differentiated from the reality of having no choice, when the adolescent's understanding of experience is distinguished from that of the adult, then it becomes possible to see more clearly how women's experience provides a key to understanding central truths of all adult life. In place of the view that her anatomy leaves her with a scar of inferiority (Freud, 1931), a woman's experience can instead illuminate a reality common to both of the sexes: that things unseen undergo change in the course of the life cycle, that there is more than one path to gratification, and that the boundaries between self and other are less clear than they sometimes seem.

Thus women not only reach mid-life with a psychological history different from men's and face at that time a different social reality with different possibilities for love and for work, but they also make a different sense of experience, based on their knowledge of human relationship. Since the reality of connection is experienced by women as given rather than as freely contracted, they arrive at a different understanding of the possibilities that inhere in relationships both for oppression and for growth (Miller, 1976).[2] In this sense, women's development delineates the path not only to a less violent life but also to an adulthood realized through the activity of taking care.

In his studies of moral judgment in children, Piaget (1965/1932) describes a three-stage progression through which constraint turns into cooperation and cooperation into generosity and love. In doing so, he points out how long it takes before children from the same class at school playing with each other every day come to agree in their understanding of the rules of the game. This agreement, however, signals the completion of a major reorientation of action and thought through which the heteronomous morality of constraint turns into the autonomous ethic of cooperation. Then when the recognition of differences leads to a relativizing of equality in the direction of equity, Piaget notes a rise in generosity that signifies the fusion of justice and love.

At present men and women seem to agree only partially about the adulthood they commonly share. In the absence of mutual understanding, relationships between the sexes continue in varying conditions of constraint, manifesting the "paradox of egocentrism" where a mystical respect for rules is combined with everyone playing more or less as he pleases and paying no attention to his neighbor (Piaget, 1965-1932). For a life cycle understanding to chart the development in adulthood of relationships of cooperation and care, it is necessary for that understanding to include the lives of women as well as of men.

Research Needs in Adult Development. Among the most pressing items on the agenda for research on adult development are studies that would delineate *in women's own terms* the experiences of their adult life. As a first step in this endeavor, studies could elucidate the degree of agreement between the accounts of men and of women about the experiences of marriage, parenthood and work which they commonly share. By measuring the congruence in these reports as well as the ability of each sex to encompass the differences in the other's perspective, the developmental criteria of differentiation and integration could chart the progression of relationship toward the generative activities of care. The inclusion of women in life span development brings to the center of our consideration the continuing importance of attachment and care in the cycle of human life. Only when development is charted through the progress of human relationships rather than through individual success will a psychology emerge to address the reality of interdependence in human life.

Footnotes

Acknowledgments. This paper is adapted from an essay, "Adult Development and Women's Development: Arrangements for a Marriage," prepared for the Social Science Research Council Study Group on Women in the Middle Years, under the chairmanship of Janet Giele.

The Research reported in this paper was conducted in collaboration with Michael Murphy and supported by grants from the Spencer Foundation, the Milton Fund, and the small grants section of the National Institute of Mental Health. In acknowledging with gratitude his collaboration, I also wish to thank the men and women who participated in this research for their generosity in contributing their time and their willingness to risk sharing details of their lives that were often intensely personal; they, too, are collaborators in this research. The interpretations presented in this paper, however, are those of the author alone.

1. The same finding has been reported by Hennig, M. and Jardin, A. in *The Managerial Woman* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press, 1977), and most recently by Lillian Rubin in *Women of a Certain Age*.

2. This interpretation is an elaboration of Jean Miller's distinction (Miller, J.B. *Toward a New Psychology of Women*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1976) between relationships of temporary and permanent inequality and her analysis of women's distinctive psychology as arising from the combination of their postions in each.

41

Bibliography

Bettelheim, B. The problem of generations. In E. Erikson (Ed.), *The Challenge of Youth.* New York: Doubleday, 1965.

Block, J.H. Sex differences in cognitive functioning, personality characteristics and socialization experiences: Implications for educational policy. Report to the Presidents of Smith, Wellesley, and Mt. Holyoke Colleges, 1977.

Chodorow, N. *The Reproduction of Mothering.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.

Daedalus. 105(Spring 1976). "Adulthood."

Douvan, E. and Adelson, O. *The Adolescent Experience.* New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966.

Erikson, E. *Insight and Responsibility.* New York: W.W. Norton, 1964.

Erikson, E. *Identity: Youth and Crisis.* New York: W.W. Norton, 1968,

Freud, S. Female sexuality. In J. Strachey (Ed.), *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud,* 1931.

Hennig, M. and Jardin, A. *The Managerial Woman.* Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press, 1977.

Levinson, D. *The Seasons of a Man's Life.* New York: Ballantine Books, 1978.

McClelland, D. *Power: The Inner Experience.* New York: Irvington Publishers, 1975.

Miller, J.B. *Toward a New Psychology of Women.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1976.

Murphy, J.M. and Gilligan, C. "Moral development in late adolescence and adulthood: A critique and reconstruction of Kohlberg's theory." *Human Development* 23(2)(1980): 77-104.

Perry, W.G. *Forms of Intellectual and Ethical Development in the College Years.* New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968.

Piaget, J. *Structuralism.* New York: Basic Books, 1970.

Rubin, L. *Worlds of Pain.* New York: Basic Books, 1976.

Rubin, L. *Women of a Certain Age: The Midlife Search for Self.* New York: Harper & Row, 1979.

Stack, C. *All Our Kin.* New York: Harper & Row, 1974.

Vaillant, G. *Adaptations to Life.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1977.

THE SEASONS OF A WOMAN'S LIFE

Judith M. Bardwick

Because psychoanalysis dominated the social sciences for half a century, focusing on development in the earliest years, there has been a widespread assumption that the critical tasks of psychological maturation were completed during childhood and adolescence. As a result, there have been very few studies of the changes which normally occur through the adult years.**

A detailed and useful model of adult maturation is that of Daniel Levinson and his colleagues, who found that at the level of specifics everyone's life is obviously unique, but at another level of analysis every life is consistent.[1] Throughout the adult years there is an ebb and flow, a regular alternation of stable phases lasting about seven to ten years, with intervening periods of evaluation-transition lasting some four to five years.

The magnitude and the profundity of the psychological and reality tasks during these periods are demonstrated by the sheer length of time that they take. During stable periods we attempt to arrive at our most important objectives. While we can experience these periods as difficult [illegible] the goals are hard to achieve, they are, in a sense, psychologically easy in that we know what we are pursuing. During evaluation-transition phases we assess how far we have traveled and whether or not we are on the right road. After living within a life-style which has specific responsibilities and objectives for seven to ten years, we are propelled, by psychological forces entwined with the facts of our reality, to assess what we

---

*This paper will appear in *The Psychology of Women*, new ed. rev. New York: Harper & Row, forthcoming. All rights are reserved by the author.

**The few which have been published recently have studied men. Without comparable longitudinal data about women we can only surmise, speculating about the ways in which the developmental tasks and processes of the sexes might be alike and different.

are doing with our lives. We ask ourselves what we have gained and what we have lost as a result of the decisions made and the objectives sought during the preceding stable period. While it is impossible to begin this process with relative dispassion, most persons will experience great emotion, simply because one comes to realize that each time one chose to pursue some things, one gave up others.

The evaluation of what our lives are like can become the preparation for deciding actively on future goals of what one wishes to do or become. Underlying the possibility of change is a dynamic tension between the desire for generativity-change and for stagnation-security. While people can be characterized as tending more easily toward change and risk-taking or toward risk-avoidance and not changing, this push-pull tension also exists within any individual. In the period of evaluation each is faced with the existential collision between staying within the life which exists and is therefore known, and altering that life, thereby taking as one's future that which cannot be known.

There is a great range in people's willingness to experience the evaluation consciously because it is scary to question the core of one's life and of one's Self. But despite the fear most people will acknowledge, at least for a certain period of time, that something is wrong. The most salient point of awareness is in one's major role and one may feel plateaued either at work or within the home. When the promotion is gained and there is no higher place to go, when the youngest child is in school all day, when economic security is banked, then one can most easily realize how habits derived from old responsibilities persist and unnecessarily govern and limit how we live.

With this awareness we try to move toward new fulfillments, but there is always pain. Whenever one questions objectives, values and commitments, one's very fluidity creates anxiety. This anxiety in itself generates a powerful need to achieve closure, to settle some things, to make some decisions. But despite a passionate longing to set one's course, the profundity of what is involved requires years for resolution.

The period of assessment and change is completed when the imperative need to ask questions and to make choices is moderated. Then, with less intense emotions, one feels able to accept all or some of one's previous commitments and values, or else one begins to construct new ones. Sometimes people recommit themselves to prior goals but in a different way, as their emergent awareness guides them toward altering, perhaps enriching, those involvements. Even when people appear unchanged because their behaviors remain consistent, they are altered to the extent of their self-knowledge.

During a stable stage we try to achieve goals of psychological maturation, of establishment or extension of interpersonal commitments, and of occupational accomplishments. As social expectations differ at different ages, particular accomplishments feel more crucial at different ages. Our concept of ourselves and our self-confidence--and thus our ability or willingness to alter our lives--will derive, in part, from our past successes or failures in terms of these specific goals.

Some people will not change their lives because they feel and believe that external constraints cannot be overcome. Others will not alter their lives because they are made passive by their fears of the unfamiliar, the anticipation of guilt, or their profound self-doubts. We can expect those who cannot transform the future in some way differently to be grateful if they can accept the compromised life which is their reality; some will exist in self-disparaging despair.

This is a model of human development based on the idea that psychological growth and change are intertwined and never cease. It assumes that human beings desire the sense of actualization which accompanies and requires psychological and realistic change in controllable measure. At this abstract level we can agree that this model applies to both sexes, because it is essentially a description of what happens when we perceive that we are aging, of how people feel when they realize that they have accomplished or failed to accomplish what they set out to do, or how people seek a future in which they will attain or experience or become what they have not, and how sometimes change is blocked.

Gender Differences in Adult Development. Levinson believes that women go through the same developmental periods that men do and in the sense just described, that is true. But in other, more specific ways, there are important gender differences. One difference is that a larger number of women compared to men will evade an evaluation of their lives, because any assessment heightens their perception that they do not determine their life style but, relatively powerless, are limited to responding to the directives and initiatives of others. For a certain kind of woman, selfless to the extreme, even asking the questions, "Who am *I*? What do *I* want to do?" is decimating; it forces the realization that she is a Self reflected and relational--existing only as long as there is a relationship in which someone responds and assures her that she does exist.

Another major difference between the two sexes is that for women certain important value changes evolved during the 1970s that resulted in basically different attitudes among women of any one generation as well as differences between generations of women. In terms of the major involvements of work and family, some women's lives have changed dramatically whereas most men's lives have not. We would, therefore, find much greater cohort differences among women. A wider range of styles and objectives exists among women today, because since the changes in society are so recent, women can have values, a self-perception, and a life-style either deriving from or combining both traditional and modern patterns.*

The Crucial Mental Gender Difference. Levinson describes late adolescence and early adulthood as enormously important because the four developmental tasks of that period provide a foundation for the rest of adulthood. During that time men construct their dream, that is, their image of themselves as they will be in the world of adults. In addition to constructing the dream, they form their occupational aspiration, they find and relate to a mentor, and they create a relationship of love. Three of these four developmental tasks involve work.

To the extent that men *are* their work--they identify with it, their sense of identity is endangered when they are unemployed, and their work is a major determinant of their position in society--then, if you want "to know about men," you study men in different occupational groups. That, of course, is what Levinson did.

But if you were to study women, what kinds of groups would you select? While we would consider the type of work women either did or were trained to do, we would include women who were employed or not, married or not, divorced or not, rearing children or not.

---

*As women are living longer and having fewer children, the period of child rearing is short; most women are in their thirties when their youngest child enters school, and the departure of children comes earlier. While that may be the single most important change, the complex of differences becomes clear when we compare women who are presently entering old age, those entering middle age, and women who will be middle-aged by the end of the 1980s.

The oldest group had the least education, grew up in large families in which their parents were often immigrants; since they became adults during the depression, they delayed marriage and had few children. The second group had more education but relatively few finished college; they grew up in small families and, as they became adults during a period of economic expansion, they tended to marry early and have many children. The youngest group had more education; 25 percent of them are in professional or technical jobs; they plan to have small families and as they are expected to live into their eighties, they will have many years which are child-free.

Compared with their grandmothers and their mothers, the lives of those in the youngest group will involve more education, higher levels of work, new combinations of family and work, more divorce, more single-parent households, and a high probability that they will take care of their aged parents.[2]

Today, in households in which there are both a wife and husband, in fewer than 50 percent is the wife a homemaker and the husband the only wage earner. While the majority of young American women have always been employed, today that is equally true of those aged 45 to 54, over half of whom are in the labor force.[2]

Those are still the fundamental bifurcations; they remain the role distinctions which determine women's experiences and exemplify and influence their values. For only a minor percentage of women is occupation the major involvement in which they fulfill or frustrate core aspects of themselves. For the majority, at least in early adulthood, the traditional roles remain the locus of identity. Like work, women's traditional role defines many obligations; unlike work, it cuts across class lines. More importantly, despite the prominence of feminist values, the occupational commitments of the sexes in young adulthood are based on very different psychological stances.

In a recent study, Rosalind Barnett and Grace Baruch asked 60 women, aged 35 to 55, if the four psychological tasks which Levinson cites as crucial in young adulthood had been important to them.[3] Only one, that of creating a relationship involving love, had been significant when they were young adults. While they had assumed that they would work, it wasn't really important because they expected to marry and to be supported. Only women whose fathers had been absent and whose mothers had earned their living had considered work in a serious way. Even those who had been poor thought of their future in terms of a man they would meet and not in terms of a career upon which they had decided. The future was imagined interpersonally and not egocentrically.

A very major difference between the sexes is the extent to which young women still prepare for adulthood by romantically anticipating whom they will marry. Although many will be college educated and employed, their major psychological tasks derive from constructing relationships and not from accomplishing self-determined, egocentric goals. In that respect women are basically different from men who, even within relationships, relate and evaluate from the egocentric core of their dream.

The Dream of Women. Women's dream is relational and either because the partner is not yet known or because its specific form is so enmeshed with the priorities of someone else, their dream is always, to some extent, tentative and unformed. *There is a basic difference, perhaps a fundamental tension, between an interdependent and an egocentric sense of self, between a formulated and a fluid set of objectives. It is important that we do not assume that identical behaviors, especially in school and work, are based upon identical mental postures. The major gender difference is not that of role participation. Rather, psychological egocentricity or psychological dependence or interdependence is the basic sex difference.*

Adult development, as Levinson describes it, is archetypically American, stressing doing rather than being, focussing on individuality rather than on connecting. Assessments of life involve questions of, "Who am I? Who am I as differentiated from anyone else? Who am I as a result of what I have accomplished? Am I worthy of esteem in terms of being near or far from my goals? What shall I do next?"

These egocentric questions begin from the assumption that the Self is the center. Accomplishments are thought of primarily in terms of achievements and those relate primarily to work. Maturation is described as the process of individuation, of becoming an individual, of "becoming one's own man" in the largest sense. That too is very American and very male. Other cultures, including the traditional one of American women, have conceptualized adulthood as meeting responsibilities within relationships.*

Women and the Multiple Role Model. Another gender difference is that we can talk in terms of a single model of male maturation, because there is only one major concept or role participation and maturity for men. But there are at least two major concepts about what adult women should be like and they are the opposite of each other. For many women--in some age groups it will be the majority--the psychological tasks are not so much to model the Self upon one or the other ideal, but to combine them in a way which is workable to the Self, and to the Self within relationships. How to achieve this combination of roles and ideal Selves, especially when women are changing more quickly and more profoundly than their male partners are, is not clear. While some women will seem more like men, asking similar questions and having similar ambitions, the great majority retain some self-concepts, priorities and objectives from the traditional model, even when their lives do not appear to reflect that.

We can describe the goals and values of different groups of women over the age span and think of those as the objectives of the stable periods. Their experiences will gratify or frustrate with considerable variance between the groups, as the expectations and desires of women reflect their age and cultural values. The evaluation phases may be very emotionally volatile, and therefore the transitions to new values and life styles are likely to be more extreme than in previous generations. We know that there have been major changes in the self-concepts, goals and behaviors of many women; we want to know the life stage patterns among women and the extent to which sex differences remain or are dissolved. While everyone experiences periods of growth and stagnation, striving and assessing, the issues in terms of sex differences can be summarized in two questions: 1) what percentage of women develop a complex psyche or an egocentric mental stance after young adulthood? 2) what percent of women younger than 27 now have a more egocentric stance than was typical of traditional women?

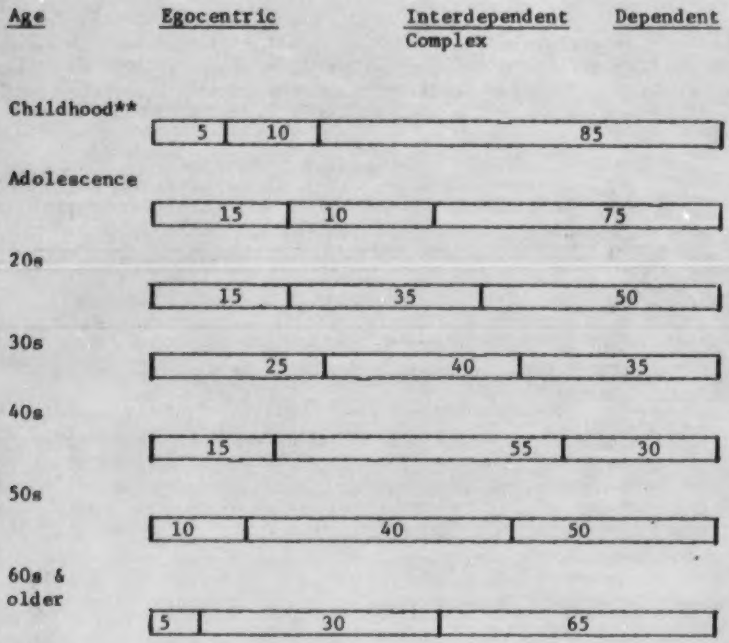
Since we do not have longitudinal studies of women, we can only guess. But if we were to graph the population of women, constructing

---

**Actually, there is an illusion of autonomy here, because as male identity and self-esteem remain dependent upon success in work, then egocentricity has been confused with autonomy.* Truly autonomous people have developed an inner sense of Self which is retained even when roles and responsibilities are lost. The vulnerabilities of the sexes are not greater or lesser, only different.

Figure 1.

The Mental Stance of a
College Educated Population of Women *



* A non-college educated population would be more traditional.
** Children are literal, conformist and conservative.

a portrait of what women are like in 1980, dividing them by age and psychological stance, we might have something like Figure 1.*

The analysis in Figure 1 focuses on mental stance or psychological core, conceptualized as a continuous variable, ranging from dependent to interdependent to egocentric. While the psychological sense of self can evolve from or can be maintained within any life style, there are plausible relations between them.

A dependent sense of Self, which is basically relational, is more likely to be associated with a traditional life style and with a heterosexual relationship in which there is both psychological and economic dependence. If the woman is employed, she is likely to earn significantly less than her husband, but more importantly, is likely to think of her earnings as an additional contribution to the family.

The interdependent mental stance is one in which a sense of Self and a keen awareness of being a contributing and receiving member of an affectional relationship exist simultaneously. This mixture of qualities is most easily developed in a complex reality which includes both familial and non-familial involvements.**

A permanent egocentric stance in women is rare because socialization pressures and the concept of femininity tend toward an interdependent or dependent sense of Self. In most women egocentricism is probably a relatively short-term response to embittered rage or grief following on the destruction of an affective relationship and/or the realization that their lives are essentially frustrated. This stance can be the mainspring, the energizer, especially if it involves anger, which enables them to make major changes in their lives. Once real changes are achieved which construct opportunities for achieving the missing gratifications, and once rage is abated, the egocentric stance is likely to alter, usually toward the complex or interdependent mentality.

In order to organize ideas I am proceeding chronologically, and in order to reduce repetition, events have been assigned to a specific age--marriage in the twenties, for example, the departure of the children in the forties. In addition to noting that the same event can obviously occur at different ages, it is appropriate to underline Levinson's point that the same event at a different age is

---

*Figure 1 is a static and not a developmental model. It is an estimate of what the generations are like *now* and is *not* a statement of the psychological changes that would be experienced over the lifetime of anyone. The latter is implied but cannot be stated with certainty, because socio-cultural values are a major influence and it is difficult to predict such values for the future.

**"Familial" includes cohabitation and other forms of stable, committed relationships in addition to marriages.

in many ways not the same task because we are psychologically so changed. Lastly, without data comparable to Levinson's, this can only be a sketch, tentative and lacking the rich pigments of intensive, long-term studies of real individuals.

Age 17 to 18: Early Adult Transition for Women. The first task of becoming an adult is to assess the values of your adolescent world and to begin to evolve those you will hold as an adult. One constructs goals, especially in education and work; one develops relationships with peers, particularly those involving sex, love and commitment; and, most crucially, one accelerates the process of separating from parents.

While most American children do not in the long run sustain values very different from those of their parents, during adolescence, when individuation is a major issue, differences in values can evolve which are greater than they will ever be again. As more young women leave home and are exposed to radicalized values, increasing percentages of them may behave non-traditionally, especially sexually, and hold radicalized values significantly different from those of their parents concerning politics, homosexuality, sex, abortion, marriage, maternity and careers.

These new values are not necessarily the result of increased autonomy but may well represent conformity to the values of a self-selected group of peers. Especially influential on the young person whose sense of self is fluid, who is embarked on a conscious search for new directions, are friends, older students or co-workers who seem to have achieved clear values and direction. Professors are likely to be especially influential. A considerable amount of behavior or attitudes may be based as much on negating perceived parental directives as on structuring independence. The emergence of increasingly liberal or radical values and behaviors in young women will not mean a basic change in psychological stance if underneath overt egocentricism the core continues to be dependent and the behavior conforming--only conforming to a different set of authority and reference figures. Levinson describes the early adult phase as one in which there is a major conflict between making commitments, including the fundamental ones associated with adulthood--occupation, marriage, paternity--and not making commitments in order to keep one's options open. Pressure to make the commitments is great if most of one's peers are doing that. Besides, one wants to seem to others--but mostly to the Self--as adult, and adulthood is most easily achieved by moving into these roles.

During adolescence one of the crucial tasks is to internalize a sense of gender and to develop a sense of one's body, specifically one's sexuality. Women traditionally focused on marriage, since this was the conclusion of the evolution of heterosexual intimacy and sexuality, as well as being the crucial achievement of becoming an adult woman.

Insofar as young women continue to place priority on and to find their core identity within relationships, they can evolve some sense of themselves which is egocentric and formed, but basically maintain considerable psychological fluidity, their[*] essential core usually depedent or infrequently interdependent. Males are developing similarly, but the proportions are reversed so that their fluidity and interpersonal dependence are much less than their egocentricity.

Despite the marked increase in young women's awareness that they ought to decide actively upon career goals because they know they will be employed, I think there has been relatively little change in regard to the priority of a committed relationship and a sense of self and adulthood developed within relationships. For young women that area can now be one of additional conflict. In addition to the conflicts Levinson describes, the issues are usually in terms of realistic problems: how does a couple find two jobs in the same locale? How can one combine rearing children with a demanding career? While those are real problems, the conflict itself is based on a fear that realization of one's own ambitions may cost one a relationship. At the core is the conflict between fulfillment of egocentric or interpersonal/dependent priorities and the different sense[**] of oneself which stems from those different psychological stances.

Women who are now in their twenties have grown up with both traditional and feminist values. Probably they have been taken more seriously than their mothers were as individuals and as workers, and most have experienced the negative and positive aspects of work, marriage, maternity--and sometimes divorce. At this age most will have children, and the desirability or functional quality of the egocentric mentality in young women is most problematic in regard to maternity. Whether child care is gratifying or frustrating depends not only on reality considerations, such as the availability of money or the health of the child, it is very much influenced by the over-riding egocentricity of the child, which demands non-egocentricity in the caretakers. If the mother is the primary caretaker, it is therefore functional if she has not evolved an egocentric psychic structure. But if she has not, she may experience the demands of the child, especially if they are joined by the egocentric needs of the husband, as engulfing her. Then she can feel that she has no Self.*

---

*Since middle aged women often become markedly assertive, initiating and autonomous, it would be more accurate to say that young women delay forming egocentric attitudes, values and goals. That is, while internal maturation is occurring, it is greatly influenced, over many years, by how a young woman experiences herself in the significant relationships she has with men, in terms of what qualities in her she thinks they esteem.

**Ambivalence is likely to be high if there have been divorces within one's circle of friends or relatives. Marriage rates in this age group are extremely high but the divorce rates are soaring. It is currently estimated that about 40 percent of first marriages of those who are now 25 to 35 will end in divorce. That statistic leads, appropriately, to a mistrust of marriage or to conflict about having children as the difficulties of being a single parent become evident. The population statistics alone should increase young women's seriousness about their careers, since the most significant demographic trend is that of households headed by women.[2]

Because the percentages of women who are seriously involved in their education, in their careers and in relationships is increasing within this age group and there is widespread articulation of the need for women to have their own independent goals, perhaps 35 percent are evolving from a dependent to an interdependent stance.

We can estimate that 15 percent are egocentric, either because, very atypically, they begin formulating a future in terms of self-control and self-objectives in late adolescence, or because, as young as they are, they are old enough to have been bitterly hurt within a traditional lifestyle. Among those in their twenties, who divorce, the majority probably do not basically change but simply remarry. While the percentage who will undergo fundamental change after divorce will be greater among older women, a group more likely to be both more confident and more angry, some in the younger group will become egocentric, unwilling ever again to give someone else so much power over how they regard themselves.

Age 28 to 39: The Age 30 Transition and the Settling Down Period of the Second Adult Life Structure. Levinson found that a major transition phase begins between the ages of 28 to 30. At that point one has to give up the self-image of being young, the feeling that one's involvements are tentative and one's options are still open. The majority who made major commitments at the usual ages have now been married, have been parents, have been working, for about 5 years--long enough to assess those choices and their consequences. Those who have not made the commitments are forced by the same awareness of age *per se*, to wonder why they have not; their task is either to make the commitments at this point or to readjust to their absence.

Levinson says that after the transition phase and until the age of 40, a man tries to achieve the goals he developed as a youth and invests even more strongly in work, family, friendship, leisure, community--whatever feels like the most important components of his life. He has a sense of being on a timetable, of climbing a ladder, of needing to advance upward. He wants to experience himself and be affirmed by others as a man who has become a senior member of his world.

---

*Alarmingly, almost all studies find that couples report their satisfaction with marriage declining after the birth of a first child.[4]

Around 36 to 40 occurs a phase for men which is so special that Levinson has given it a specific name: *Becoming One's Own Man.* In these years a man has to give up his mentor, give up even more of his internal little boy self, and speak with his own voice based on his sense of autonomous authority. To the extent that he identifies with his work, and, successful in that activity, has access to promotions and increased responsibilities, to others asking for his advice and leadership, then the feeling of being senior to some, of being accepted as a peer by those perceived as senior, will follow. *The external structure of work thus facilitates the internal task of experiencing oneself as an independent, adult man.*

Very few women will have the same experiences or the same psychological outcomes. While the sense of being adult may be gained by women successful in their work, few would *Become One's Own Woman,* reassured by occupational success as to the normalcy of their adult status as women. On the contrary, those who are achieving significantly may feel especially anxious about their femininity unless they are in significant heterosexual relationships. *The factors which can generate the sense of independence in men may have the paradoxical effect of highlighting dependent needs in women.*

Independence as a crucial characteristic of adulthood is much clearer or more salient for men than women. As the focus is on masculinity earned by achievements, rather than masculinity earned within relationships,then men focus on achieving that status by becoming independent at work.

Femininity with its suggestion of warmth, nurturance, supportiveness of others, is a quality generated within relationships. Even if women had mentors--which few do--they might not consider it important, as men do, to separate from them. Interdependence and not egocentricity or autonomy is the feminine ideal.

Women who are now in their thirties are likely to experience a more profound and prolonged transition period than men of the same age.*

---

*The thirties produce pressure on everyone, because at that age the level of one's abilities is tested, one's probable occupational future becomes clearer; the age of 35 is roughly half-way through a life. Probably women's confrontation with life's basic issues occurs nearer to 35 to 40 because of their biological clock. If they have not conceived by then, they may fear that their reproductive capacities are declining. If they did have 2 or 3 children beginning around the statistically normal age of 25, then at 35 the youngest child is in school all day. To the extent that women depend upon appearance for self-esteem, aging can be frightening: 35 is no longer young.

In this group most will have begun their adult life with essentially traditional values; most will also have changed toward more feminist or more egalitarian life patterns as their experiences forced them to evaluate and then to reject what their life was like, especially as the new values became the majority position. While a substantial number may have begun their thirties with feminist values and may live according to them--especially with regard to responsibilities and rights within marriage, parenting and careers--the responses of others and their own psychological tendencies will make them aware that older values and ideas about appropriate behaviors and qualities remain powerful.

The great majority of women in their thirties will be married, the mothers of school age children, employed but not on a career path, or unemployed and out of school for about ten years. The first task of becoming an adult woman was accomplished by marriage and maternity; the children are now old enough to need less and less mothering, while the husband's career is launched and he is increasingly involved in it; as the years 35 to 40 approach, there is a good chance that a woman will change her life. Frequently women return to work or work more ambitiously; some return to school, and some have love affairs.*

Perhaps inevitably family members, especially husbands find that, even though they agree in principle to changes in the lives of the wives, as those changes impact upon their own lives, they feel confused and resentful. There is a convergence of stress for both husband and wife, while hers characteristically arises out of changes within the family, his originates outside the family.

In complex organizations the pyramid begins to narrow dramati-

---

(cont'd)

When Rubin asked women to describe themselves in such a way that she could get a good sense of who and what they were, almost all began with a physical description.[11] The aging of the body may be more stressful for women but paradoxically, studies find that women's sexual responsiveness often increases in middle age. That may be pleasant or unpleasant depending upon the interest expressed by their partners--or by whether or not a woman has a partner. In any event, the task is not only to accept one's own aging body but that of your partner; that is not only an issue of attractiveness but of age since your partner's aging body is a continuous reminder of your own.

*While premarital and extra-marital sexual acitivity are not the same, it is nonetheless interesting that in a national study of attitudes concerning premarital sexual behavior, the greatest change--and in the direction of liberalization--had taken place among women aged 30 to 39.

cally as a person nears middle management and the number of promotion possiblilities diminishes sharply. This means that at the time when the man's psychological task is to perceive himself as an independent and successful adult, he begins to run the risks of being plateaued or fired. If his sense of masculinity is endangered, it can be harder for him to cope with a wife who is less deferent and less dependent.*

I think the value changes of the 1970s have been experienced more severely by those now in their thirties than by any other age group. Those who are 35 in 1980, were 25 in 1970. The feminist movement began in the late 1960s and by 1974 had been accepted by the majority of Americans.[7] This group therefore grew up when values were traditional; they became young adults however, when they were supposed to make choices and not passively to accept tradition. Those now in their thirties have less sense of certainty about what the real rules are than do those who are older or younger, because the other groups had more consistent experiences.

Because they had both the reality and the illusion of choice, I think that there is more stress and confusion and a greater chance for anger among women in their thirties than in any other group. Those who followed ambition may have to come to terms with loneliness and a despair bred out of the feeling that it may be too late. Those striving to juggle all roles are doing that without consensual rules of what is all right to do or not to do within relationships.

Those who respond with anger will for some time be egocentric. If that enables them to formulate fulfilling and obtainable objectives, and they create a more complex life style, most will become psychologically interdependent. Because women's traditional roles involve economic, social and psychological dependence, most who move from a dependent to an interdependent stance will achieve that because they increased their involvements outside the home. That choice becomes feasible as their childcare responsibilities have declined.

---

*There are data demonstrating that a substantial number of men in their thirties and older tend to become less assertive and dominant, while their wives reverse that direction, diminishing their passivity and their willingness to be limited to home and family. If the husband is in a psychological decline, especially if his occupational future is pessimistic, the wife and children tend to maintain the forms of dependence, which are intended to sustain the husband's declining self-esteem. They protect him so that he can continue to function and thereby allow them the development of their autonomy and interests. For all concerned, the idea that he is a strong husband and father is comforting.[6]

Thus I would guess that while there is a large percentage who are psychologically dependent, perhaps 35 percent, that is substantially less than the 50 percent among those now in their twenties. Since I think there is considerable frustration and anger, as many as 25 percent could be egocentric, but for most women that is a transition phase. The largest group, about 40 percent, are likely to be developing new rules of responsibility and obligation within relationships, and they will be interdependent.

Age 40 to 50. The Mid-Life Transition and Middle Adulthood. As men approach the symbolically powerful age of 40, Levinson found that they question what they receive and what they give to work, wife, children, friends, community. Since 40 is associated with aging and aging is frightening for us, probably the few who do not assess their lives at this time are especially frightened and feel powerless, unable to change their lives.

The basic stress is that this age in itself signifies that the future is shortening; if you will ever experience and become what you have not, you must do it now. This period can be more emotionally intense than any which proceeded it because, while there is still a substantial future, death is in the wings. One's own mortality becomes harder to deny as some develop chronic diseases, some have friends die, many will have their parents die, and before this decade ends, some will have their spouses die.

Levinson tells us that the great majority experience the mid-life transition as a significant struggle within themselves and with the Self in the world. While the final outcome may well be positive, this evaluation-transition period is painful; one acknowledges, for example, that the past 20 years in an occupation has realistically foreclosed work options and the work future is an extension of what one is doing now. Similarly, the 15-year-old marriage is comfortable but not exhilarating; ending it however, means losing crucial roots and injuring a spouse whose only sin was being around too long.

While some men decline in this period, Levinson found that many experience middle adulthood as their fullest and most creative period. He describes those men as less tyrannized by the passions, ambitions, and illusions of youth. Most of them achieved a new level of autonomy in their late thirties that enabled them to be both more aware of and more centered in the Self, and more responsive and sensitive to others. This is the optimal evolution of the egocentric stance and it is the development of the interpersonal mentality in men.

The sexes begin adulthood at opposite ends of the psychodynamic continuum; as men are enabled by success in achievement to give up their egocentric preoccupation, and as women succeed within relationships and become more autonomous, both become interdependent. This implies that men will become more involved with their internal psychological needs and states and be more sensitive to their dependence upon affirmation within relationships. Women will be better able to engage the world, experiencing themselves as initiators, having gratifications as individuals.

Realistically and psychodynamically less confined, people in their forties are freer to construct richer relationships with their spouses, grown children, friends and colleagues. But today the criteria of satisfaction in relationships, especially in marriage, are changing toward more egocentric and hedonistic gratifications. Women and men are assessing what they gain and what they lose in all commitments: since there are costs in all commitments, and since awareness of aging is likely to precipitate feelings of desperation, then the chances of major upheavals in long-term relationships are increased.

Divorce has increased markedly among those now in their forties. While those in their thirties were most affected by the illusion of free options, I think those now in their forties were most affected by the visibility of egocentric hedonism.[8] They are old enough to feel cheated if they followed the rules and led a duty-filled life, but they are young enough to have a future of sufficient extent to make change worth while. Especially if one is plateaued or otherwise trapped in one's work, then the marital relationship can come to feel like the only commitment large enough to be blamed for one's losses, whereas a new relationship can feel important enough to be capable of reconstructing the feelings and pleasures of youth.

While we are focussing on change in middle age, the oppressive fact is that for most people this is a relatively eventless period which has far fewer significant events than does youth.[9]

Women who are now 40 and older became adults when there were essentially no choices, and their traditional obligations dictated that the great majority were never seriously involved occupationally. While the costs of that are obvious, it also offers the specifics of major change. While an unemployed or under-employed housewife can be fearful, becoming really involved in work is an obvious opportunity to create beginnings. The easiest changes are external, and those whose lives have included all of the major role engagements don't have an obvious new activity to pursue. In that sense middle aged women have an easier resolution than do men, who have normally been employed, married, a parent and active in the community. Now, especially if life in general is set and no more significant accomplishments seem available in the external world, then they may be forced to accomplish an extraordinary transition by generating new values internally, in regard to what they are rather than in terms of what they do. That same tasks confronts unmarried career women who are an especially vulnerable group, given the chance that their careers have plateaued and they have neither the haven of a supportive marriage nor much chance that they will find a partner.

During their forties the probability of women experiencing loneliness increases greatly because of the children leaving home, widowhood, and divorce. In this age group the remarriage rate for men is much higher than for women. In 1977 over 3,000,000 women aged 40 to 64 were widowed and 2,200,000 were divorced.[12]

While many have described the empty nest period as depressed, national data do not support that view. Adjustments have to be made; for some it may be a crisis, for the majority, whether employed or not, it is sad and joyful and generally benign. But, if when your children leave, your spouse leaves too, and for the first time you are not centrally important in anyone's life, depression is inevitable and a major life transition is crucial. That will be especially difficult for those whose lives were not complex and who were basically dependent.*

I think that despite the significant divorce rate, if we compare women in their forties with those now in their thirties, fewer will be angry because they are less likely to feel that, as a generation, society lied to them. When they were young, there were no alternatives. One married and had children and while in middle age one might now regret what one did, there isn't the self-blame that comes from having made the wrong choices. Therefore, the percentage who would be egocentric would be smaller, perhaps 15 percent. The majority have probably made a reality transition, as evidenced simply by their very high employment rate. Having expanded their activities, being mature and often self-confident, the largest number are likely to have become interdependent. The percentage of complex women in this group may be larger than in any other cohort because social permission to engage in work was given to them at exactly the time when their traditional responsibilities declined. Believing that the traditional roles were important and were therefore a route to self-esteem, if they fulfilled those obligations well, relatively unambivalently compared to women in their thirties, they could use the traditional roles as the route to affirm themselves as successful adults. Since so many are likely to have constructed complex lives and a sense of interdependence, the percent who are dependent is probably smaller than among those in their thirties estimated at 30 percent.

---

*For some, the problems are less psychological than economic. Increasing numbers of midlife former homemakers (40-65), who have no history of paid employment, find that when they are divorced they have no health insurance or retirement benefits and while they are too young for Social Security, they are considered too old for jobs.[13] The changes which are required of these people are stupendous, ranging from learning job skills, learning to think of themselves as competent; able to organize and decide, and most basically, transducing depression into anger, learning to think of themselves egocentrically.[14]

I am hypothesizing that the majority of women in their forties will have had the experience of realizing that a very major life phase ended during this decade, and they had to come to terms with that and with the end of responsibilities most had just automatically accepted. Equally difficult, they had to decide what they would do next. But, free from responsibilities, grown up and capable, with the world more and more accepting of their venturing out into it, the possibility is very good that most successfully develop a sense of Self, and a new level of autonomy. Beginning the phase depressed and scared, the majority are likely to have made the transition so that they regard themselves differently, with some autonomy and considerable self-esteem.

Age 50 and Older. Levinson's study ended when the men were in their forties he believes, but did not directly observe, a transition phase existing from 50 to 55. From 55 to 60 he believes there is a stable period in which those who are able to rejuvenate themselves are able to achieve significant fulfillments and enrich their lives. From 60 to 65 he hypothesizes a late adult transition phase, which is significant as it marks the end of middle age and creates the basis for old age. The single most important task in this phase is preparing for death. Symbolic forms of dying occur as one enters or is in old age--for women, the menopause and especially for men, retirement.

Children who are in their fifties usually have parents who are 70 and older. Aging parents often become increasingly dependent upon their children, psychologically as well as economically. While most old people want to remain independent as long as possible, and the actual frequency of contact between aged parents and middle aged children is low, the parents do expect that their children will aid them when they can no longer manage and that is normally the case. Women in late middle age are increasingly becoming the caretakers of their parents. In 1970, for every aged person in an institution, three were living with one of their children, usually a daughter.[2]

That can serve as a mechanism by which women who are homemakers can perpetuate that life style. For example, I know a woman who is in her early fifties and for the past four years has had her 87-year-old father living with her. An RN, she taught nursing before her two daughters were born. The wife of a successful physician, she has not worked since the first birth. Her older daughter has graduated from college and the other leaves for school in several months. It is impossible for her to evade the realization that her role as a mother is ending; for the past several years she has been saying that she "ought to do something," and she means that she should get a job. "But," she will then complain, "I have to take care of my father!" The truth is that his presence has given her a plausible excuse to avoid really thinking about her Self, and she will postpone this evaluation at least until he dies.

Women now in their fifties and older were at least 40 when new options for participating in the world opened up. Many, probably the majority, felt that it was too late for them to change the way they lived. Partly a matter of feeling old, partly because few of their friends were employed, partly because of the conservatism of husbands, and largely because most were psychodynamically dependent. The great majority, I think, continued to live within the homemaker role. When you cannot achieve goals, one response is to reject the goal or the values upon which that goal is based. In contrast with those in their forites, who appear to have entered the work force in very large numbers, the employment rate of this group is much lower. I would not be surprised if some of this group responded to not being able to live according to the new values of the majority by intensifying their traditionalism in life style and values.

Now that we are studying adults we are learning that psychological development never ends unless someone indraws psychologically or withdraws from engaging reality. Increasingly it seems that the mental deterioration which has customarily been attributed to aging is, instead, a response to an invariant world of no challenge or stimulation. When your world is too repetitive and simple, then you lose the feeling that you can cope with change. Those least able to risk something new are probably aging housewives who are psychologically dependent and not significantly involved in much of anything.*

But that may imply an overly pessimistic view. It is plausible that while the majority of older women may be psychologically dependent, those whose traditional life was in accord with their values and was a source of fulfillment, and who are likely to have led complex lives whether or not they were employed, would have become interdependent. I have described a larger percentage of women in their fifties as interdependent than those who are 60 and older, because it is possible that more of the younger group were enabled to participate in more outside activities as the world opened up for women in the second half of the 1970s. That hypothesis may be wrong if those who were older when values changed were less affected by them, less likely to question the value of how they had spent their lives, better able to maintain the sense that they had done what they were supposed to do, and done it well. While most would be depressed, some will be angry and I have assumed that small percentages of older women are egocentric because they have become widows and especially divorced, displaced homemakers.

Conclusion. When we are young we imagine that when we are grown we will really know what we want and things will be settled.

---

*Men are especially at risk when they retire and their mortality rate makes that clear.

It is disconcerting and yet hopeful to learn that nothing is ever settled "forever." In 1980 there are many women who have taken hold of their lives, and there are many others who feel resentful because they have lost the sense of comfort from knowing what is expected of them.

Neither the traditional homemaker role nor the career role nor the combination of them is without stress. A very major change in this past decade is the increased number of employed women, especially married mothers. While those who lead complex lives, combining responsibilities of worker, wife, mother, and community member may feel rushed and continuously pressured, Baruch and Barnett found that employed women who were also wives and mothers were no more stressed than those who were not in the labor force.[3] They found that the lives of those who were at home and those who left to go to work, could all be hectic. But chances are that work contributes more rewards to life than it generates additional pressures, especially if the family cooperates, because work can simplify life and provide objective criteria of adequate achievement. Work can be a buffer; women who are not employed have no protection from endless family demands and a childcare norm which generates guilt, anxiety and endless responsibility because one strives to be a perfect mother in order to have perfect children.

Overall, with as much confusion as value change generates, most of the changes seem to have been constructive. Having choices can create cultural ambiguity and personal uncertainty, but having no choices must ultimately frustrate a significant part of the population. In 1971 and 1978 in major national studies Campbell compared a large group of homemakers and employed wives.[15] One difference was that many more women were employed in 1978 than had been in 1971. The most important finding was that the sense of satisfaction and the level of happiness with their lives did not differ between the two groups. While many have moved into the labor force, those who were full-time housewives were as satisfied with their lives and their sense of Self as were those who were employed. As values changed so did opportunities, and while there are always some people who feel frustrated, apparently the majority are now able to live as they prefer.

If one has the sense that one's life is plateaued, then that feeling can provoke efforts to make changes. While an opportunity to alter your life can clearly be positive, the experience will be negative if you cannot make changes in your world or within yourself. At their worst the evaluation phases can be experienced as crises; they can lead to depression or rage, to withdrawing, or to clinging to commitments and values which are inappropriate but familiar. Or, a sense of panic can result in extreme change, characterized primarily by a total reversal of everything in the past. Maturing is not only change. It also involves coping with what one has to do, accepting compromises and one's ambivalence in every commitment. Optimistically, one hopes that most people will experience their changing lives as a series of developments in which, as life phases end, they can then construct and engage their futures, generating the sense that they are alive, and that they have value.

In a way, life is a dialectic process of continuously separating and attaching, connecting and individuating. The ultimate separation is from life, and part of the process of living, is preparing to die. In that, the sexes are identical.

Footnotes

1. Levinson, Daniel J., Darrow, Charlotte, N., Klein, Edward B., Levinson, Maria H., and McKee, Braxton. *The Seasons of a Man's Life.* New York: Ballantine Books, 1978.

2. Neugarten, B.L. and Brown-Rezanka, L. "Midlife women in the 1980s. Women in Midlife--Security and Fulfillment (Part I)." A compendium of papers submitted to the Select Comittee on Aging, and the Subcommittee on Retirement Income and Employment, U.S. House of Representatives, 95th Congress, Dec. 1978, Comm. Pub. 95-170, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1978, 23-38.

3. Barnett, R. and Baruch, G. "On Being an Economic Provider: Women's Involvement in Multiple Roles." See pp. 69-82, this volume.

4. Schram, RosalynW. "Marital Satisfaction over the Family Life Cycle: A Critique and Proposal." *Journal of Marriage and the Family,* 41(1)(1979):7-12.

5. Mahoney, E.R. "Age differences in attitude change toward premarital coitus." *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 7(5)(1978): 493-501.

6. Rosenberg, S.D. and Farrell, M.P. "Changes in Life Course at Midlife: A Pattern of Psychosocial Decline." Unpublished paper presented at annual meeting of American Soc. Assoc., San Francisco, Calif., Aug. 26, 1975.

7. Mason, Karen, Czajka, J.L., Arber, S. "Change in U.S. Women's Sex-role Attitudes, 1964-1974." *American Sociological Review,* 41 (4):573-596.

8. Bardwick, J.M. *In Transition.* New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1979.

9. Duncan, G. and Morgan, J.N. "The Incidence and Some Consequences of Major Life Events." See pp. 147, this volume.

10. Bardwick, J.M. "Middle Age and a Sense of Future." *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly* 24(2): 128-138.

11. Rubin, L. *Women of a Certain Age: the Midlife Search for Self.* New York: Harper & Row, 1979.

12. Butler, N.R. "Prospects for Middle-aged Women." (same as note 2), 323-333.

13. Sommers, T. and Shields, L. "Problems of the displaced home-

maker." (same as note 2), 86-106.

14. Tatro, C. and Boles, J. "Developing New Careers and Financial Independence." (same as note 2), 190-201.

15. Campbell, Angus. "Changes in Psychological Well-being During the 1970s: Homemakers and Employed Wives." See pp. 291 ff, this volume.

II.

MESHING MULTIPLE ROLES

WORK-FAMILY LIFE CYCLES AMONG WOMEN

Patricia Voydanoff

This paper develops the concept of work-family life cycle by mapping out combinations of family life cycle stages and stages in traditional career patterns. This concept facilitates the analysis of approaches used by women to coordinate work and family roles across the life cycle. Differences between strategies used by women and men are also made more explicit. Several modes of coordinating work-family life cycle stages are discussed including role sequencing, schedule flexibility, and enlisting support from husbands. The analysis points to several employment policies that are appropriate for individuals who want to combine work and family roles across the life cycle.

The Work-Family Life Cycle. The family life cycle is a major concept in the developmental approach to the study of the family. The family life cycle consists of several stages, each of which is characterized by specific developmental tasks to be accomplished. These stages have been mapped out in several ways according to patterns of family composition, including marital status, ages of children, and the employment status of the major wage earner. Our analysis is best served by using the following stages outlined by Stolte-Heiskanen (1974):

I. Establishment--newly married couple without children.
II. New Parents--couples or one parent with one or more children under school-age.
III. School-Age Family--couples or one parent with school-age children.
IV. Post-Parental Family--couples or one parent after children have left home and/or entered the productive sector. Also "middle-aged" couples without children.
V. Aging Family--couples or parent after retirement.

Since we are concerned with work-family relationships, we shall focus on the first four stages of the family life cycle. This classification, as well as family development theory in general, presents an over-simplified analysis of family structures and life cycle stages. Recent attempts to accommodate less traditional family patterns are beyond the scope of this paper.

Career stages and associated tasks have been conceptualized and analyzed by occupational sociologists. Bailyn and Schein (1976) have presented the following formulation with stages categorized according to opportunity, responsibility and productivity:

I. Preparation--process of choosing and preparing for a career.
II. Novitiate--period of learning and socialization in which the entrant is assessed in terms of long-range potential.
III. Early Career--person is fully functioning and doing meaningful though rarely crucial work; further learning and trial.
IV. Middle Career--person has been fully accepted and is expected to enter period of maximum productivity and performance.
V. Late Career--person is past the point of maximum productivity though experience allows high contribution.
VI. Post-Exit--person is no longer officially a member of the occupation but may serve as a consultant or part-time employee.

The length and dynamics of these stages vary by occupation (Gusfield, 1961). The orderliness of progression through career stages is related to several types of social integration (Wilensky, 1961). Our analysis of work-family relationships includes the Novitiate, Early Career, Middle Career and Late Career stages.

The work-family life cycle is conceptualized as the combination of the four stages in the career and family life cycles. At this point we are assuming that individuals go through the four stages in each role sequence according to the traditional male-oriented pattern in which the four stages generally parallel each other in timing. In the next section we discuss the deviations from this sequence among women. Analyses of the transitions between stages and their associated tasks (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1965) are unfortunately beyond the scope of this paper. We will examine, however, the synchronization of responsibilities between work and family roles within each stage (Aldous, 1969) and the extent of role strain or vulnerability to family stress associated with each stage (Moen, 1979). The aspects of synchronization and stress that are most important for our analysis of women's coordinating patterns are economic pressures and role demands.

Traditional Work-Family Life Cycle Stages. The first stage in the work-family life cycle is Establishment-Novitiate. This stage focuses on the tasks necessary to establish the marital relationship and launch the career. It is an exploratory stage in both areas. A relatively heavy emphasis is placed on work role demands by men and career-oriented women (Hall and Hall, 1979). Since expenditures for setting up a household are high relative to earnings in the Novitiate stage, economic pressures result from the squeeze between income and aspirations and needs (Oppenheimer, 1979).

The second stage, New Parents-Early Career, is a period of extremely high demands in both roles. In the Early Career stage individuals are attempting to establish themselves as full members of their occupations. At the same time young children are very demanding in terms of time and attention (Aldous, 1969). This is also a period in which child-rearing expenses may outstrip earning power, especially since many women are not in the labor force when their children are young (Aldous, 1969; Gove, Grimm, Motz, and Thompson, 1973).

The School-Age Family-Middle Career stage provides different patterns of synchronization and stress. Child-rearing tasks remain demanding, though less so than in the previous stage, while job demands become less intense as incumbents become established and relatively secure in their work roles. Near the end of this period, however, economic pressures result from the costs associated with supporting and educating adolescents (Oppenheimer). In addition, adolescents often leave home at about the same time that men in established careers tend to shift their relative priorities in the direction of the family. This discrepancy can be interpreted as part of the midlife crisis some men go through in their late forties (Pleck, 1977).

The Post-Parental Family-Late Career stage is a period of relative synchrony as role demands and economic pressures usually decrease. This is generally a period of relative well-being and satisfaction (Glenn, 1975; Targ, 1979). Family roles become relatively more important as work roles tend to become less salient.

The above combinations and sequences are the most traditional ways of combining work and family roles. Men tend to be oriented to work roles; women's attachments to work and family roles are more complex (Weingarten and Daniels, 1978). We now analyze the ways in which women attempt to coordinate work-family roles across life-cycle stages.

Women's Modes of Coordinating Work-Family Roles. Over the last decades wife employment has increased as a result of economic pressures and changes in sex role ideology. Many employed women are also performing traditional family roles which are more demanding for women than men. This role combination results in high levels of role overload and work-family interference, especially among women in the New Parent-Early Career stage (Pleck, 1979; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1976).

Women's Lives

Recently women have been attempting to coordinate the demands of work and family roles so that they may combine work, marriage and parenthood without role overload or the sacrifice of important elements of these roles. Accommodating the parenting role is especially important, since it rather than the marital role, is the major source of work-family interference (Pleck, 1979). The various coordinating modes used by women include role sequencing, schedule flexibility, and enlisting support from husbands.

Drawing on the work of Weingarten and Daniels, we can make a distinction between sequential and simultaneous patterns of work-family involvement. The sequential pattern involves alternating participation in work and family roles across the life cycle, while the simultaneous pattern involves performing work and family roles during the same life cycle stage.

Traditionally women have coordinated work-family roles by choosing either to work or to have a family. Many women gave priority to family roles and stayed out of the labor force when family roles were defined as requiring it. These definitions have varied across time and circumstances. For example, in some cases women did not work if they were married; in others they did not work if they had children; or they did not work if they had children of certain ages, e.g., below school age. In some situations married women entered and left the labor force according to economic needs occurring across the life cycle. Smaller numbers of women have given priority to work roles and limited participation in family roles to fit work role demands. These women remained either unmarried or childless in order to concentrate on career development and achievement.

Recent patterns of role sequencing include shorter time periods per sequence, more flexibility in choosing sequences, and perhaps larger numbers of shifts into and out of the labor force. Common patterns of sequencing include working before children are born, leaving the labor force until they reach specific ages, e.g., three, six, or adolescence, and then reentering the labor force; not working before having children but entering the labor force when the children reach specific ages; working before children arrive, leaving and not reentering the labor force (Weingarten and Daniels; Young, 1978). These patterns become more complicated when the number and spacing of children are considered. Women's participation in these various patterns is related to economic pressures to work (Oppenheimer), constraints against working deriving from the husband's occupational role (Mortimer, Hall, and Hill, 1978), and attitudes about and demands associated with childrearing and family responsibilities (Weingarten and Daniels).

Role sequencing may have the advantage of shifting the stages in the work-family life cycle. These shifts can reduce some of the traditional role demands impacting on women performing work and family roles as outlined in the previous section. For example, women who postpone the birth of the first child until reaching the Middle Career stage are able to reduce the economic pressures and role demands of the New Parent-Early Career stage. Hennig and Jardim (1977) point out the occupational benefits of this approach for women managers who postpone marriage as well as childrearing until their careers are established. Hall and Hall (1979) suggest that husband-wife conflicts in two-career families are reduced when women are in the career building stage when their husbands are already established in their work roles. Competition between partners is reduced at several points, and one partner is relatively more available for performing family responsibilities across several life cycle stages.

Women involved in simultaneous work-family role participation across work-family life cycle stages are usually subject to role overload and work-family interference.

Role overload exists when the sum of the responsibilities of work and family roles is too great to perform both roles adequately or comfortably. Interference refers to situations in which conflicts between demands make it difficult to fulfill the requirements of both work and family roles. The amount of overload and interference varies by life cycle stage; however, both probably exist at all stages where the wife is expected to perform the bulk of family duties and/or where there are children at home. Women are attempting to reduce overload and interference by means of more flexible work patterns (see e.g., Holmstrom, 1972). Overload may best be reduced by permanent part-time employment and/or job sharing while interference may be dealt with more effectively by flexible work scheduling. Pleck (1979) reports that scheduling problems are the most prevalent type of work-family interference among women.

So far we have assumed that the coordination of work-family roles is the sole responsibility of women. Until recently this has been so in most situations. It is clear from the above analysis, however, that the coordination of work-family roles among women would be facilitated by more sharing of household and family duties by men. Previous research indicates that men whose wives are employed outside the home spend no more time on household tasks than men whose wives are not employed (Pleck and Lang, 1978). More recent data, however, indicate a slight increase in men's household work time for men whose wives are employed outside the home (Pleck and Lang). This suggests that perhaps men are beginning to respond to women's overload by assuming some additional household duties. Moves in this direction are still quite limited, however.

Men have consistently performed work and family roles simultaneously across the life cycle. However, a small minority of men are beginning to assume more nontraditional roles, e.g., as custodians of children after divorce, as part-time employees, as single adoptive fathers, and as househusbands (Levine, 1976). Performance of the househusband role and part-time employment are ways in which men modify roles in order to participate more fully in the family. These patterns provide flexibility to women who want to pursue simultaneous work and family roles in various life cycle stages. So far these patterns are limited to small numbers of men; the major though still limited role change is to increase time spent on family roles while maintaining traditional simultaneous work-family role performance.

Policy Implications. This paper has outlined four work-family life cycle stages that vary in terms of economic pressures and role demands. The role demands on women have been especially strong, since women who work outside the home have been expected to fulfill traditional family responsibilities as well. Women have traditionally dealt with these pressures by limiting participation in either the work or family role. Recently women have attempted to find more flexible ways of combining work and family roles by role sequencing and by adapting to simultaneous work-family role performance through schedule flexibility and/or increased husband support.

Policy is not well developed in this area. It is important for men and women choosing a sequential approach to be able to enter and leave the labor force without sacrificing career progress and advancement. This is not possible in most occupations, especially in those with the highest status and responsibility. Career stages have been very limiting for both men and women, even though increased flexibility would benefit both employers and individuals wanting more diverse work and family life cycle patterns (Browning, 1969).

Two-worker families in which both partners want to pursue simultaneous work-family role participation need alternate work patterns to facilitate their joint participation. Flexible work schedules, permanent part-time employment and job sharing are a few of the arrangements that are beneficial in this respect. Recent research indicates that morale is high, productivity is not reduced, and family roles are facilitated in these work patterns (Cohen and Gadon, 1978).

Work in this area is just beginning. It is hoped that analysis of the joint work-family life cycle will focus attention on the benefits to be derived from men and women being better able to coordinate work and family roles.

References

Aldous, Joan. "Occupational characteristics and males' role performance in the family." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 31 (November 1969): 707-712.

Bailyn, Lotte, and Edgar Schein. "Life/career considerations as indicators of quality of employment." Pp. 151-168 In A. D. Biderman and Thomas F. Drury (Eds.), *Measuring Work Quality for Social Reporting.* Beverly Hills: Sage, 1975.

Browning, Harley L. "Timing of our lives." *Trans-action* (October 1969): 22-27.

Cohen, Allan R., and Herman Gadon. *Alternative Work Schedules: Integrating Individual and Organizational Needs.* Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1978.

Glenn, Norval D. "Psychological well-being in the postparental stage." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 37 (February 1975): 105-110.

Gove, Walter R., James W. Grimm, Susan C. Motz and James D. Thompson. "The family life cycle: Internal dynamics and social consequences." *Sociology and Social Research* 57 (January 1973): 182-195.

Gusfield, Joseph. "Occupational roles and forms of enterprise." *American Journal of Sociology* 66 (May 1961): 571-580.

Hall, Francine S., and Douglas T. Hall. *The Two-Career Couple.* Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1979.

Hennig, Margaret, and Anne Jardim. *The Managerial Woman.* New York: Anchor, 1977.

Holstrom, Lynda. *The Two-Career Family.* Cambridge: Schenkman, 1972.

Levine, James. *Who Will Raise the Children?* New York: Lippincott, 1976.

Moen, Phyllis. "Patterns of family stress across the life cycle." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the National Council on Family Relations , Boston, 1979.

Mortimer, Jeylan, Richard Hall and Reuben Hill. "Husbands' occupational attributes as constraints on wives' employment." *Sociology of Work and Occupations* 5 (August 1978): 285-313.

Oppenheimer, Valerie Kincade. "Structural sources of economic pressure for wives to work: An analytical framework." *Journal of Family History* (Summer 1979): 177-197.

Pleck, Joseph H. "Developmental stages in men's lives: How do they differ from women's?" Paper presented at the conference, Resocialization of Sex Roles: Challenge for the 1970's, Hartland, Michigan, 1977.

Pleck, Joseph H. and Linda Lang. "Men's family role." Unpublished paper, 1978.

Pleck, Joseph H., "Work-family conflict: A national assessment." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, Boston, 1979.

Rapoport, Robert, and Rhona Rapoport. "Work and family in contemporary society." *American Sociological Review* 30 (June 1965): 381-394.

Rapoport, Robert, and Rhona Rapoport. *Dual-Career Families Reexamined.* New York: Harper & Row, 1976.

Stolte-Heiskanen, Veronica. "Social indicators for analysis of family needs related to the life cycle." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 36 (August 1974): 592-600.

Targ, Dena, B. "Toward a reassessment of women's experience at middle age." *The Family Coordinator* 28 (July 1979): 377-382.

Weingarten, Kathy, and Pamela Daniels. "Family/career transitions in women's lives: Report on research progress." Paper presented at the American Psychological Association Symposium on Transitional Experiences in Adult Development, Toronto, 1978.

Wilensky, Harold. "Orderly careers and social participation." *American Sociological Review* 26 (August 1961): 521-539.

Young, Christabel M. "Work sequences of women during the family life cycle." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 40 (May 1978): 401-411.

TOWARD ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE:

WOMEN'S INVOLVEMENT IN MULTIPLE ROLES

Rosalind Barnett
and
Grace Baruch

The two intertwined themes of this paper are that: (a) given the social context of modern Western society, the well-being of women is facilitated by development of the capacity for economic independence and thus of occupational competence; and (b) when women are involved in multiple roles, including that of paid worker, the effects on balance are often positive rather than negative. Given this perspective, we shall argue, our failure to prepare women for occupational competence results in a developmental disability that eventually culminates for many women in difficulty coping with the circumstances of their lives, leaving them vulnerable to and at high risk for poverty, psychiatric symptomatology and diminished well-being. Thus we shall point to a major discontinuity that threatens women both economically and psychologically, namely the divergence between socialization of the female role and requirements of the role of economic provider or breadwinner.

This discontinuity emerges because our norm that a young woman should marry and be economically dependent on her husband for the rest of her life is no longer viable. The relevant social changes are well known. Demographers in the United States project that 40 percent of marriages will end in divorce. In an unknown number of households, inflation now makes two incomes a necessity. Moreover, husbands lose their jobs, die without leaving an adequate estate, and so forth. All women are affected by the lengthening life span combined with fertility control; even women who marry and have children will eventually face perhaps 40 years free from intensive involvement in child-rearing, years in which involvement in meaningful work and the capacity to earn a living may be critical.

To look more closely at just one of the phenomena mentioned--divorce--we know that it brings poverty to women of all social classes. Many women suddenly forced into the role of breadwinner suffer a great hardship because of lack of adequate preparation for the job market together with their child-rearing responsibilities (Burlage, 1979). The low pay of women's occupations, the need to work full-time to receive not only income but desperately needed health benefits, and the barriers to further education or training, all these constrain both their current and future incomes.

Our conviction is that all adults must be able to function as economic providers. This notion appears simple, even a cliché, if one is thinking about men, but it still remains controversial when applied to women. When large numbers of men cannot support themselves or their families, we read about it in newspaper headlines. Such a situation commands the attention of economists and politicians; mental health professionals worry about the psychological consequences. Although large numbers of women are unable to provide for themselves and any dependents, that is as expected, unless and until such women enter a particular social category--that of persons who threaten to impinge upon public monies--separated mothers, pregnant teenagers, elderly widows. Like magic the economic dependence of women suddenly becomes visible and regrettable. But the visible crises are simply eruptions of an otherwise undetected, lifelong, and chronic disease that is composed of occupational incompetence and economic dependence.

The onset of this disease is in early socialization. In mentioning such phenomena as divorce and widowhood, one is reciting the list of disasters that young girls are warned may force them to work. They are thus encouraged to prepare themselves for some sort of fall-back occupation, to attain a minimal level of occupational and economic competence, one not associated with pride and pleasure but with misfortune, stigma, and failure. The image of boys as future breadwinners and of girls as future wives and mothers has retained a powerful influence on parents.

To illustrate the themes we have outlined, we shall draw on findings from the first stage of an ongoing two-stage interview study of women 35 to 55.* The study focuses on : (a) variations and commonalities in the issues, concerns and sources of gratification that characterize their lives; and (b) the relation of these to their work and family status and to their sense of well-being. The sample is described in Figure 1. The women in the study occupy one of three

---

*Data reported here were gathered as part of a research project supported by a National Science Foundation Grant #BNS 77-26756. The research was conducted under the auspices of the Heller Graduate School, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts, where the co-authors held appointments as Senior Research Associates and Adjunct Lecturers.

Figure 1: Subject Groups

Family Status

WORK STATUS	Never Married	Married without Children	Married with Children
Working High-Prestige			
Working Medium-Prestige			
Working Low-Prestige			
At Home: Husband High-Prestige	X		
At Home: Husband Medium-Prestige	X		
At Home: Husband Low-Prestige	X		

Note. For each cell, N = 15

family statuses (never-married; married without children; married with children) *and* are with one exception, either paid workers in high, medium, or low-prestige occupations or are "at-home" with husbands in high, medium, or low-prestige occupations. Never-married women not in the paid labor force are excluded.

In the first stage of the study, we conducted intensive, semi-structured interviews with about four women from each of the 15 cells shown in Figure 1. The purpose of these interviews was to identify the issues, concerns, and sources of gratification in their lives, both in general and within such domains as work, marriage, children, family relationships, and the self.

The questions asked in the first stage of the study underwent transformations as we learned more about the women. For this reason, and because the sample for the first stage was not random but was obtained by "snowball" methods, the data we are reporting should be taken as suggestive, to be confirmed or contradicted by the second stage. (Findings from the first stage were used to develop a survey instrument for the second stage of the study. In the second stage, interviews are being conducted with a random sample of 15 women from each of the 15 cells.) However, it is in these long interviews that we had our richest opportunity to explore each woman's current situation and to understand her life history.

We first present findings concerning the portions of the interview that inquired into women's thoughts and attitudes about their economic maintenance and about the role of work in their lives. We asked both about their current thoughts and attitudes and about those characterizing the period of their late adolescence. Each woman was invited to think back to when she was 16 or 17 and to tell us what general picture she had of her life as an adult. We then followed up with more specific inquiries about how she saw work fitting into her life and how she thought her economic needs would be met.

The period of late adolescence as described retrospectively was of special theoretical interest to us because of the developmental model of adulthood Daniel Levinson (1978) has proposed, one based on an intensive study of 40 men 35 to 45 who also reported retrospectively about their earlier years. In his model, which he expects to prove applicable to women, the period of late adolescence and early adulthood constitutes a foundation for one's life structure and for later development. Four developmental tasks are primary in those years, according to Levinson: forming a dream (an image of oneself as actor in the adult world), forming an occupation, finding a mentor, and forming a love attachment. We are skeptical about the usefulness of Levinson's model in understanding adult development in women, in part because we have found that, for a majority of today's adult women, only the last of the four tasks was salient during their adolescence, that concerning a love relationship. For many of these women this focus eventually led to major problems in later years.

Here are examples of women's responses to our inquiry about their expectations concerning how their economic needs would be met. The most frequent response was some variation on the theme "I never thought about it." Almost as frequent was the response, "I expected a man would come along." Although many women reported that they expected to work, this goal was rarely felt as a long-term career commitment, nor was it linked to the notion of providing for oneself economically.

A married childless woman in her forties, who now does secretarial work in an automobile garage, recalls having very few thoughts as an adolescent about her financial future, although her family was quite poor:

> I must have been semi-conscious as a youngster. I hoped I would be richer. . .that's not a goal, I just thought it would happen. . .I would marry a rich man, which I didn't. . .I don't know how all this was going to happen. I certainly never thought I would earn it. I wasn't trained. . .I certainly knew my folks weren't going to leave it to me. They were not rich. I just thought it would happen, I suppose, that I would be rich. . .I don't know what I thought, how my life would turn out. I don't think I thought much about it.

A woman in her fifties, never married, whose parents were also poor and who is currently housekeeper to an elderly couple, recalls:

> I thought I'd marry a rich handsome man. I wrote in the Yearbook I'd marry a handsome wealthy fellow. 'Course my sister and I were twins and were made a big fuss over and always catered to and felt we were very special and my father and mother got us the best of clothes and that's what I thought would happen to me.

A married woman in her forties, who teaches and practices physical therapy, said:

> I must admit I didn't have any ideas about money or work . . .I thought as I'm sure every little girl has that when I grew up I'd be married and wouldn't work. . .Even in professional school I thought it was a sort of temporary thing and I didn't value the profession.

Of her ideas about her economic maintenance she said:

> I thought Prince Charming would come and take care of me for the rest of my life.

And a never-married woman about 50, now struggling to support herself as an insurance adjuster, said when asked how she had thought her financial needs would be taken care of:

> It's awful, but I just thought they would be. I didn't sort of think I was going to have to do it. . .I think that's why my thinking was kind of unrealistic in the sense that I didn't really realize that the work was out there for me to have to conquer or do. . .I just sort of grew up and got here by day-to-day living. There was no planning, nothing, so it just sort of went on.

Exceptions to the general pattern of giving little thought to one's economic and occupational future were mainly women whose mothers had been the economic providers for the family when they were growing up, because the fathers had been absent. Although some of these women still reported having had fantasies of Prince Charming, another part of themselves understood and prepared for the reality of having to earn a living. To them work was not just for marking time or for self-fulfillment and self-expression.

Growing up with a mother who is the sole economic provider appears to alert a girl, whatever dreams of riches she may have, to the reality of economics and marriage. One such woman, whose mother was divorced, said:

> Obviously when you're buying your own clothes in high school you're aware of finances, and if you don't have the money to go to college you're aware of finances. . . Divorces do happen, it was apparent, and so you really can't count on lifelong financial security by getting married.

Another spoke of the effect on her of her mother's having to struggle with being a sole economic provider:

> I was very aware that things could be like that. I was very determined that things would not be like that. I might have to but I guess I never thought I'd end up in that same position, but it could happen.

Note that growing up poor did not by itself, as earlier quotations illustrate, result in a feeling of needing to earn one's way.

A successful, never-married professional woman, whose father was in the army during her childhood and died soon after and whose mother supported them said:

> I never thought I'd be supported by a husband, never. I've never put my fate in anybody else's hands. I'm going to take care of me and I don't ever expect anybody else to. Fine if I marry a millionaire, I'll be delighted, but I don't look to anybody else to support me. . .I'd never accept money from anybody else. If I had a rich relative, I wouldn't take ten cents from them.

A married woman not presently employed emphasized that her mother who supported the family after a divorce is "very, very proud of the fact that she raised two girls alone, when everybody said she couldn't do it." This woman described how, carefully and deliberately, she worked her way up from clerk-typist to executive secretary, attending secretarial college at night.

Another married woman in her thirties never knew her father; her mother supported the two of them as a live-in housekeeper. She remembers that her mother "operated efficiently without a mate" and that "I always thought that I'd work, as opposed to being a mother or being in the home." She too found ways to obtain additional education beyond high school and held increasingly responsible secretarial jobs.

We have been impressed with some long-term positive effects of observing and identifying a breadwinner-mother. One woman said, "My mother told me when I was 17, I was going to be totally on my own. And it was scary, but I did it." As a result she comments, "even though I worry about a lot of things, I 've been through so much I know I can get through something else. I don't see anything in life as something I can't get through." The thoughts and behaviors of late adolescence carried over in a positive way for this woman, reflecting a sense of competence and mastery based on a belief in her capacity to face life as an independent person.

For the majority of the women, however, the carry-over from late adolescence was continuing inability to deal with economic reality. Many reported being unable to support themselves adequately; employed women permanently tied to low-paying jobs felt as handicapped in this respect as those women who were at home. Many employed women had never ascertained what fringe benefits or provisions for retirement came with their jobs. Still others knew these to be inadequate but had not yet taken any remedial steps. Many married women who were not paid workers knew little about what would happen to them financially if they were widowed or divorced. Some never-married working women still half counted on Prince Charming being around the next corner.

That discontinuity can be preferable to continuity when previous modes are maladaptive is illustrated by the experiences of a never-married woman now in her early forties. She was from a relatively affluent family in which the father had been the sole economic provider. For over 20 years she had lived on meager, somewhat irregular earnings as a writer. Not long before our interview her apartment building was turned into a condominium, and she found that she could not afford to buy her apartment. Indeed, she found that at her income level she could not "avoid living in a way I am no longer willing to do." This woman, however, was able to think through her situation and to mobilize herself to make important changes; she trained for and took on managerial responsibilities in an organization of writers, thus generating adequate renumeration.

In the course of working through this crisis, she found herself for the first time conversing with her father about the kinds of financial and career issues that have traditionally been discussed between *son* and father. She reflected on how different her experiences as a young woman were from the experiences he recounted as a young man beginning his career with his first employer:

> In his job they gave him a chance to find out what he was good at and made him think about his future. . . If someone had talked to me that way, I would have said, 'I don't want to hear about it,' [because] if anyone had said to me I wouldn't be married for two or three years out of college I would have laughed. It never occurred to me.
>
> Father, on the other hand, was like a healthy plant that got stuck down in good soil, and someone was standing over him, watering and weeding. And he was ready. . .his ears and his mind were open.

For many men during late adolescence and early adulthood, inner readiness and external encouragement combine in a way that has been experienced by few women in our society. Most women grew up with an either-or concept--wife and mother *or* career woman. At least until recently, most chose "wife and mother," unaware of the disruptions and discontinuities that would set in later. Unfortunately, the timing or notice of such events, unlike the case just described, may result in a woman being overwhelmed and not able to mobilize adequate resources--either internal or external. The prevention of the developmental disability we have described emerges as the crucial task.

Multiple Role Involvement. Let us now turn to the concept of multiple role involvement, the nature and implications of which need to be understood if women are to set forth on different, less discontinuous life courses. The effect of multiple role involvement on well-being is a topic of particular interest at this time as more and more women take on additional roles. Housewives and mothers in record numbers are returning to the marketplace, adding the demanding role of paid worker to the highly involving and taxing roles of wife and mother. Some theorists (e.g., Goode, 1960) would argue that such new commitments lead inevitably to role overload and conflict with consequent decrements in well-being. According to others (Marks, 1977; Sieber, 1974), such additional involvements may yield a net gain in well-being as a result of both the ego-enhancing knowledge that one can manage several roles and the additional income--financial and emotional--attendant on occupying roles both within and outside the home. More likely, the effect of multiple role involvement may depend on such factors as the age of the woman, her family status, and the nature of her occupation.

First we need to clarify the concept of multiple role involvement and begin to identify criteria by which the advantages and disadvantages of such involvements can be assessed. By drawing from the interview material the women can share with you their perceptions of the costs and benefits of multiple role involvement.

Given the complexity of women's lives, it does not do justice to the concept of multiple role involvement to focus, as have previous researchers, on work, marriage and family roles. Many women are not mothers, some are never-married, yet they are often highly committed to such roles as daughter and worker. Non-employed housewives, who according to a simplified notion of multiple roles, function in only one role, actually often also function as mothers, daughters, and daughters-in-law. Further, married working women with children often are highly committed to their roles as daughters and daughters-in-law. Hence, one cannot make *a priori* judgements about multiple role involvements and one needs to expand the concept to allow for other salient roles besides those of the work-place and the family of procreation.

With respect to studying the *effects* of multiple role involvement, far more attention has been paid to negative outcomes than to positive. Thus, experiencing one's life as having a too hectic pace, or feeling "pulled apart," or feeling that one is doing an inadequate job in an important role are automatically taken to indicate severe stress or negative well-being. But some women who describe their lives in these ways prefer such a life. As a 40-year-old working mother of three children put it, "It bothers me less that I'm rushed then it would if I had too much time." Such women may in fact take on more and more roles and responsibilities, knowing the costs but trading them off for what they see as greater gains. We thus come to the notion of *balance*. Clearly, in order to understand the impact of multiple roles on well-being one must assess both the negative and the positive outcomes women experience in combining several roles. A positive effect does not require the *absence* of stress or concerns or problems, but rather a net gain in terms of rewards and gratifications. As one of our first subjects put it, "The things, or people that give me problems are the same ones that give me pleasure."

Further, given that most women operate in marital dyads, advantages as well as disadvantages of multiple roles need to be conceptualized as including effects on the husband and on children, if they are present.

A 50-year-old married employed childless woman describes the feeling that sometimes things get to be "too much," the feeling of overload:

> I don't think I function well under a lot of pressure--at work I can, that kind of pressure I can cope with. But sometimes I feel that I had to invite so-and-so, and I have to do this and the house is dirty and I have to shop and the laundry must be done. Working and the house and social activities, not that I was any social butterfly, but it was just everything.

The feeling of overload, of being pulled apart, of having too many demands is, however, not limited to employed women. Indeed, our impression is that non-employed mothers experience these feelings more strongly and usually more frequently.

Here is how a 41-year-old, non-employed mother of four describes the pace of her life:

> Frantic. I suppose part of that is that we do have four children and three of them are young, 11, 10, and 7 and we have no help, which is to say that before you came I decided to scurry around and shovel things out of the way and spent a lot of time folding laundry which seems to be endless and fairly routine and so there are probably a couple of hours a day where there would be household things that I would do. I spend a tremendous amount of time involved in children's activities, which is to say driving them. I think that's the suburban life. I spend a lot of time in a station wagon driving children to lessons of all kinds and Campfire girls when I'm not leading them and Girl Scouts and multiple kinds of lessons. I have a child who is taking violin lessons and I will go with her and do the lessons at the same time. She also has piano lessons and swimming and it's endless. During the time that I wait for them I tend to do errands. I drop them and do shopping errands, dry cleaning. I work at our children's school. I'm teaching computer one morning a week and occasionally work in the science corner at the school but not on a regular basis. I am very involved in my old college's activities and go to a number of meetings, probably averaging two or three times a week there and spend quite a lot of time on the phone in relation to that. I'm very active in town political activities and spend a fair amount of time on the phone with that and go to. . .probably an average of two or three evenings a week attend meetings. We go out socially fairly frequently . . .at least once a week, maybe twice. It's just such a busy life.

In spite of the huge amount of time this mother devotes to her children, she often feels that she is doing an inadequate job:

> I feel guilt even that I don't do enough for them although I don't see how humanly I could do more because I don't think I have the patience to devote more time to them than I do.

A hectic pace is thus common to women who differ in the way they combine roles within the home and in the market place. With respect to overload, however, paid work seems to occupy a unique and paradoxical postion. Most people, particularly men, and women who are not employed, view paid work for married women only as adding a set of responsibilities, as cumulative in its effects. The additive model, our data suggest, is inadequate and may even simply be wrong. As a person takes on roles she often contracts or simplifies others. Married employed women, even those with several children, rarely experience their paid work as purely additive. Indeed the role of paid worker seems far less manageable to those out of it than to those in it.

A 40-year-old mother speculates that taking on the role of paid worker might actually simplify her life. In her words:

> I have felt very often that it would be much simpler to have a paid job. Simpler only because it's structured and I would know what to expect and my plans would be made in such a way that I would be ready for the contingencies maybe and because my life isn't structured in that way I always feel as though I'm juggling.

Thus, having outside commitments may permit homemakers to set limits on the otherwise endless demands made upon them at home.

A good illustration of how this process works comes from a 38-year-old working woman. Her husband is from an extremely large and close family who are still completely engrossed in each others' lives. While finding some aspects of that life style attractive, this woman was not entirely comfortable with it. Her work provided a legitimate excuse for limiting her involvement and reducing the other family members' expectations for her involvement.

Let us turn back to the 50-year-old married childless woman who commented on the hectic pace of her life. She nevertheless credits her working for positive effects on her husband and for important changes in his behavior toward her:

> Financially it makes his life easier obviously and he does help me. He's pretty good about it and since women's lib he's much better, oh yes, much better. We had company Sunday for brunch and while I was sitting chatting, he cleaned off the whole table, put all the dishes in the dishwasher, cleaned out the coffee pot, he just did everything. Without being asked. He doesn't always do that. . .years ago, he only did things if he was asked.

She also noticed an improvement in their functioning as a couple, which she attributed to her working:

> I can remember when I didn't work I think I was really more of a nag, I think small things don't really bother me now. . .when he comes home and if he's tired, I'm tired too. I'm not asking him all the time to go somewhere. . .and I don't drive him crazy with a lot of little annoying things.

The thrust of her comments is that now her life is more like his and as a result there is less friction and more understanding. Indeed, in her case, being a worker helped to make her a better wife.

Another important perspective on multiple roles comes from interviews with married employed women with children. First we hear from a 40-year-old woman with two preadolescent children who has just recently started a career as a lawyer. She notices a distinct improvement in her relationships with her children:

> Before I was always busy organizing things and there was never sort of kind of relaxed time to do something and I think there's something about the limited time where it forces the interaction. . .They seem to be a lot more pleasurable to be around, a lot more enthusiastic about our family and thinking the family is important.

However, when we turn to non-employed married women with children we are impressed with their fears of being unable to cope with the added demands of a job, especially the fear that their children will suffer. A non-employed 36-year-old mother of four young children, ages 7 to 10, whose husband's income is no longer adequate because of inflation, sees herself "on the brink of having to go to work." Recently she had been offered a very attractive part-time job that would have meant being away from home two afternoons a week. But her concerns led her to turn down the offer:

> I don't think even leaving my children at the ages they are two afternoons a week is going to undermine the discipline that I have on other days. But who is to say that those two afternoons aren't the days they need Mom you know. . .
>
> However, I want to enjoy working and I don't want a lot of grief from my family. . .when it comes to the nitty gritty of say, the sitter cancels Wednesday afternoon, I have to be there. You'll have to come home from work and that doesn't go over even though you've made the agreement beforehand. When it comes to the nitty gritty there's a lot to be ironed out. I've talked with enough women who've gone back to work to know and frankly I just wasn't ready to face all that. I was telling myself at the time 'this will be good for the children, they will learn independence, et cetera.' So when it really came down to accepting that job after thinking it through and I really had to think about each person in my family, and my relationship with them and what was going to. . .and I went into a lot of soul searching over it and decided no.

The 41-vear-old mother of four, who was beset with guilt over not doing enough for her children, also shares her somewhat different concerns about going to work:

> About once a week we have a "what will Ann do when she goes to work," conversation in our living room. I really would like to work and I don't feel that the stage that I'm in is a permanent stage. We have no support systems around us, no relatives. I have a husband who has a very demanding job and who's away all the time, usually three days a week and that's usually two nights a week and sometimes it's repeated through the week so he might be away as much as four evenings in a week and never here when the children are home from school so that there's no way that he could get into a working-wife life. I would have to do it completely independently and get hired help as opposed to any kind of family. And if someone was sick there wouldn't just be a mother to come. . . .I don't think that's necessarily extraordinary, although the people I know who are successful about combining jobs and family tend to be people who have around them some sort of either flexibility in the husband's role or family in that area, and we don't have that. So when I say I have thought about what I'd like to do--I thought about it and every time I think about it it leads to a certain amount of frustration because of what I would have to do.

In fact these concerns are legitimate. But they are only part of reality. The experiences of the employed mothers suggest several strategies for managing complicated lives. These include eliminating aspects of roles, joining with other women in "support" groups, redefining relationships.

An employed wife describes the limits she sets on her housekeeping responsibilities:

> I don't ever wash a floor, I would never clean an oven. I never wash a window. I mean I don't care if they fall out. There are some things I absolutely and positively will not do. A lot I'm willing to do but some I won't.

The help of confidantes and/or support groups is often mentioned as important in dealing with the inevitable conflicts in managing complicated lives. Such is the case for this employed mother of three who will probably be the family's major breadwinner because her husband is seriously ill.

> I belong to a mothers' support group. . .this group I really love. I started it last year. I feel a lot of support and we talk a lot of things out and we go home and say we're going to try things and come back after we've tried it.

When the heavy demands of a highly taxing professional career came into serious conflict with the equally enervating demands of being an only child to a widowed mother, a 41-year-old woman took dramatic steps. With the help of a therapist, she redefined her relationship with her mother; she succeeded in eliminating the family expectation that she would live at home and take care of her mother. Now they live independent lives in separate residences. As she put it, "I'm no longer her daughter."

These quotations illustrate that multiple role involvement creates pressures which in turn can yield to various coping strategies. To these women the pressures were not immobilizing as one would imagine from the fantasies of non-employed mothers who contemplate entering paid work.

Indeed, paid work often turns out to be a major source of self-esteem and good feelings. One woman who worked for 5 years before the birth of her first child recalled:

> After I had the kids I took them back with me to the office. I wasn't getting paid but went back just to spend time there and could see the others who worked there. . . .Actually I didn't want to leave work. I worked right up to the end and was finally told that I had to quit, by the doctors, so I quit work. But I still went over.

A 41-year old writer, who is married and has two young children, did not experience her commitments as draining. In her words, "I feel energized by my work, I would say, and by the children."

These women illustrate that the effects of multiple role involvement are mixed. Some roles are enervating, others invigorating. The mix is crucial to the overall effect. Further, paid employement emerges as only one of several roles women occupy, and its effects on well-being seem no more or less dramatic than those of other roles. Finally, the assumption that multiple roles are additive is called into question; a woman who takes on the role of worker does not simply add new responsibilities to a fixed set of old ones. Rather she rearranges priorities, contracting or simplifying the old to make room for the new.

Too many women today are ill-prepared to meet the challenges of the second half of their lives. They are troubled by feeling that they are not meeting their families' current emotional demands and doubt their ability to take on the additional responsibilities of paid work. Yet they foresee the need to do so.

The importance of preparing girls for handling multiple roles including especially that of economic provider, emerges as a major challenge.

Bibliography

Burlage, D. *"Divorced and separated mothers: Combining the Responsibilities of Breadwinning and Childrearing."* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1978.

Goode, W. J. "A Thing of Role Strain." *American Sociological Review*, 1960, *25*, 483-496.

Levinson, Daniel J. *The Seasons of a Man's Life.* New York: Knopf, 1978.

Marks, Stephen R. "Multiple roles and role strain: Some Notes on Human Energy, Time and Commitment." *American Sociological Review*, 1977, *42*: 921-936.

Sieber, S. D. "Toward a theory of role accumulation." *American Sociological Review*, 1974, *39*: 567-568.

WORKING MOTHERS OF INFANTS:
CONFLICTS AND COPING STRATEGIES

Pamela M. Schwartz

This paper is a report of two recent studies conducted on the effect of maternal employment on the attachment behaviors of infants. The initial study (Schwartz, 1978) was concerned with the relationship between employment and attachment. The second study, recently completed, dealt with working women's maternal, job and marital role satisfaction and its relationship to infant attachment.

The effects of daily separations due to maternal employment have not been extensively studied with infants. For children under the age of two, attention must be focused on the effects of maternal absence on the children's attachment to the mother. During the period from six months to two years of age, the maternal bond forms the infant's initial and strongest social tie. When children are separated from their mothers during this period, they will protest her absence and attempt to follow her. Children who experience long terms of separations have been found to undergo severe reactions, often culminating in withdrawal from contact with caregivers. Evidence of disruption in the mother-child bond resulting from short daily separations has not proved conclusive. The purpose of the initial study was to determine whether daily separations begun prior to the onset of attachment affected the security of the attachment bond. Further, differences in the effects of part- and full-time separations were also examined.

Employment and Attachment Study. Forty-five eighteen-month-old infants from intact middle class homes participated in this study. All of these children had been placed in day care homes prior to six months of age. Of this group, 10 attended full-time and 12 attended part-time. The remaining 23 children had not participated in organized child care.

The strange situation observation was used to determine differences in attachment behaviors. This procedure consists of eight episodes and includes two instances of separation and reunion with the mother. A description of the procedure is included in Table 1.

TABLE 1

Strange Situation Observation

Description of the eight episodes**

Episode	Participants	Duration	Behavior highlighted by Episode
1	Mother, Baby Experimenter	30 sec.	Introductory
2	Mother, baby	3 min.	Exploration of strange environment with mother present.
3	Stranger, mother, baby	3 min.	Response to stranger with mother present.
4	Stranger, baby	3 min.*	Response to separation with stranger present.
5	Mother, baby	variable	Response to reunion with mother.
6	Baby	3 min.*	Response to separation when alone.
7	Stranger, baby	3 min.*	Response to continuing separation, and to stranger after being left alone.
8	Mother, baby	variable	Response to second reunion with mother.

* Episode was curtailed if the baby was highly distressed.

** Table from Ainsworth, Stayton and Bell (1972)

This procedure originated from Ainsworth's interest in the means infants use to obtain the necessary comfort and reassurance from their mothers when they are upset by her absence. In her original study she noted a large variation in infants' success in obtaining necessary comfort.

On reunion some infants were found to avoid the mother and indicated reticence to interact with her; other infants displayed more overt signs of distress, such as crying and tantrum, but would resist physical comfort offered by the mother. The presence of avoidant and resistant behaviors has been interpreted as an indication of anger directed at the mother. (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters & Wall, 1979). While resistant behaviors are seen as direct indication of anger, avoidance involving passive withdrawal from social contact is viewed as a repression of a more direct expression of anger.

The presence of these behaviors on reunion, however, does not alone indicate a serious disruption in the attachment bond. Those children who recover from their initial anger and are able to seek out comfort from the mother are classified as a part of the normatively attached group. Those infants who do not recover and who do not resume active interaction with the mother during the rest of the session are referred to as non-normatively attached, indicating the inability of these infants to use the mother as a source of comfort when upset. Those infants whose reactions are mainly to avoid interaction with the mother are termed avoidant, while those who are resistant are termed ambivalently attached.

The behaviors displayed by children in the strange situation have been found to be related to observed maternal responsiveness to the child during the first year (Ainsworth, Bell & Stayton, 1968; Clarke-Stewart, 1974). Further, the observed behaviors and group classifications have also been found to be stable over time (Waters, 1978). There is some recent evidence of a relationship between group classification and the development of later social skills. (Matas L., Ahrend, P.A., & Sroufe, L. A., 1978).

Because of the large literature which has found a breakdown in the infant's bond to the mother as a result of long-term separations, a number of studies have examined whether a similar breakdown occurs in response to repeated daily absences due to child care (Blehar, 1974; Hoch,[1] Simmons 1978). Generally, these studies have used older groups of infants for whom the strange situation is not appropriate. The Hoch study did find that one-year-old infants cared for individually were less resistant of their mother than those cared for in groups.

Results. The results of the study described here indicated that the day care infants displayed more avoidant behaviors than did the non-day care infants, and that this difference was accounted for by those attending day care on a full-time basis. The study did not establish that there were more avoidantly classified infants in full-time day care, although there was a tendency in that direction. The display of avoidant behaviors by the full-time day care infants was interpreted as resulting from the difficulty these infants experienced in dealing with the continual separations from the mother.

In contrast, few part-time day care infants displayed either avoidant or resistant behaviors, and only two were classified as non-normatively attached. These infants as a group tended to display fewer signs of difficulty in their relationship to the mother than did non-day care infants or full-time infants. This result was contrary to what would be expected to occur if the behavior of these infants was due to the separation experience alone. If that were the case, then the frequency of the display of avoidant and resistant behaviors by part-time children should fall between that of full and non-day care groups.

One explanation for this finding could be the quality of the relationship between mother and infant when they are together. Part-time working mothers may have a very adaptive situation. The mothers interviewed had intellectual stimulation and time for their children. Studies have indicated that working mothers set aside special times for their infants. The amount of time mothers who work part-time have to do this may in fact serve to strengthen their attachment bond with their infant. Full-time working mothers, in contrast, would have less time to spend, and household responsibilities during the evening hours would further limit the time available to them.As a result, structural differences between full- and part-time work might account for differences in the behaviors of the children.

In addition, the problems a mother faces, such as marital and work conflicts, are known to affect how she interacts with her infant and in turn are reflected in the security of the infant attachment.[2] Given the difficulties experienced by mothers who work full-time, it might be reasonable to assume that they may experience more role conflicts and that these conflicts might be reflected in the behavior of their infants.

Second Study: Role Conflict and Attachment. The second study grew out of an interest in determining whether there were differences in the role conflicts experienced by part-and full-time working mothers of infants. I was also interested in determining whether a relationship existed between observed instances of non-normative attachment and maternal reports of role conflicts. I was impressed during my first study by the openness and interest the mothers showed. Various concerns were expressed repeatedly by those who worked. In an attempt to capture these opinions in a more systematic way, I constructed an interview questionnaire which was divided into five sections. The first was a report of the infant's day, providing information on how the mother structured her time with her child and the extent to which the mother assumed sole responsibility for the child. The second section consisted of questions about the role of the father in the management of the house and child care, and about the mother's attitude toward his role. The third section dealt with the woman's attitude toward work and the work role. The fourth section concerned the maternal role, and the final section described satisfaction with child care arrangements.

Twenty mothers were interviewed for this study: 10 worked full-time and 10 worked part-time. Of these, 17 mothers and children participated in the strange situation procedure.

The families were middle and upper-middle class. In all cases both parents were present in the home. All of the infants were between 18 and 20 months of age at the time of testing. All but one of the infants had begun attending a day care home prior to seven months of age. The infants were cared for in group settings, where between two and ten other children were present ($\bar{x} = 3.0$). The group experience of these infants appeared to be similar. In only two cases did the mothers report that the sitter had an active teaching role with the children.

The preliminary results of the examination of the maternal interview responses indicated large areas of similarity between part- and full-time working mothers as well as a number of important differences. These are presented and discussed below.

Home and Family. Despite the rhetoric about shared roles in modern families, the women in this study reported that they still maintained instrumental control over their child and house. Child care duties assumed by the husband were generally limited to arrangements where the mother needed to be away, or where she had requested to be relieved. Further, when the child was ill, in all but two cases the mother took time off from work. In the other two cases the fathers and mothers shared this responsibility. There were no differences between full- and part-time working mothers' response to the question of the extent of their husbands' care of the child. Nor was there any difference in their desire for the father to do more with the child. Nine out of 16 mothers responded affirmatively to that question. For the most part, the father's role did not expand in response to the length of the mother's work hours. To the question of what they would like their husbands to do the most frequent answer given was to care for the child without being asked to do so. One mother replied, "I sometimes think he sees the child as an extension of me and just assumes she goes wherever I do." Also consistent was the report that the finding and selection of sitters was the mother's concern.

In view of the hours that the mothers worked, it was surprising to find that only 9 out of 19 fathers did more than take out the garbage. In the other 10 cases their roles generally remained traditional and involved external work in the house. Only one father cooked dinner regularly so that the mother could have time with the child. Interestingly, slightly fewer part-time than full-time mothers reported *wanting* more help around the house. These women reported feeling comfortable with their ability to keep their house the way they wanted it to be.

In summary, the families in this study, despite the work of the mother outside the home, still organized responsibilities in a traditional manner. Except for the mother's desire for the father to spend more time with the child, there was no concern with changing this arrangement, especially in relation to dealing with child care arrangements. The interview results support the assumption that full-time mothers indeed had less time to spend with their children, and that they do not receive more support from their husbands either for home or for child care responsibilities. Thus while there were no differences in the number of part-time and full-time mothers reporting spending special time with their children, the amount of time for full-time mothers was limited. Since these findings were based on maternal reports, it might prove very interesting to contrast responses of fathers whose wives stayed at home with those whose wives worked, to discern whether there were differences in perceived child care and household responsibilities.

Workers as Mothers. There were few differences between the part- and full-time working women's responses to questions concerning their role as a mother. In general, the parents had put off having children, and 15 out of 19 reported that the timing had been good. When the mothers were asked to report what they particularly enjoyed about their children, their responses consistently fell into two categories: enjoying the physical contact, and seeing the world through their children's eyes. Working did not appear to lessen their desire for more children. Only two mothers of only children indicated they did not think they would have others.

The mothers were asked if having a child had affected how they dealt with their other roles. Significantly more full-time mothers reported that it had made it harder to cope with all the demands made on them ($x^2 = .01$).

Mothers as Workers. All except two of the mothers expressed a strong preference for part-time employment. Of the two exceptions one part-time mother claimed she would prefer not to work at all, and one full-time mother expressed satisfaction with the current state of affairs. While the part-time option was preferred it was not always easy to accomplish. Eighty percent of those mothers who worked full-time had returned to the same job after the birth of their child, compared with 57 percent of the part-time mothers. Few of the part-time mothers indicated that the option of part-time work had existed in their their former positions.

For mothers in both groups, financial and personal reasons for working were mentioned with equal frequency. In both groups similar numbers of mothers reported satisfaction with their jobs (five part-time, six full-time) and few mothers indicated a desire for a job change (two part-time, four full-time). The most frequent reason given for satisfaction was that the job was flexible, and they had worked out an accommodation between the job and their role as a mother. This was true even of mothers who mentioned that they might eventually seek a job change. Moreover, those full-time mothers who expressed an interest in changing jobs mentioned as a reason the fact that their job took too much effort and time from their children. This feeling was also reflected in the fact that only full-time mothers expressed the desire for fewer responsibilities at work (two of ten full-time).

When the mothers were asked if their view of themselves had changed since the birth of their child, there was a significant difference in the responses of full and part-time mothers. Of the mothers who reported a change (seven part-time, four full-time), eight reported feeling that their work was less important to their lives. Interestingly, several mothers referred to the change as "feeling less aggressive."

The women were not reporting that they put less effort into their work. Indeed, they continually mentioned having to develop organization, and that this seemed actually to promote work. The effect of this report, rather, was that they had put off serious effort at career advancement and taking any additional responsibility until later. This finding agrees with the mothers' report of a desire for a job change and their reticence to make that change while their children were younger. In three cases (2 full-time and 1 part-time mother) the women reported that having a child had made them feel more confident in their jobs. In these cases, motherhood might in a sense be viewed as a rite of passage into adulthood.

In summary, it appears that for women with small children the maternal role and its responsibilities do take real precedence over the work role. A part-time job to earn some money, have contact with other adults and to maintain a sense of a professional identity is perceived as ideal. This finding should have implications for employers who are attempting to keep employees. A two-year part-time work option may be more attractive to new mothers than a total six-month or one-year leave of absence.

Maternal Attitude and Attachments. The responses of the mothers in this study indicated no areas of conflict between work and maternal role. If a choice had to be made, the maternal role clearly took precedence; nor was any dissatisfaction expressed over making this choice. If anything there was a desire to spend more time with the children.

A number of the mothers did express dissatisfaction with their husbands' attitude towards the child or toward family responsibilities. This was generally recorded in those questions concerning the father's role. A relationship was found between maternal report of such a problem and non-normative attachment in their infants. In 4 of 5 cases where the infants were classified as non-normatively attached, the mothers had expressed some concern over their husbands' attitude toward the family (X^2 = .0067).

This result should be regarded as tentative, because of the small sample. It does, however, suggest further areas for investigation. It is in agreement with Sroufe's finding that changes in attachment between one year and 18 months are found to be related to the occurrence of a crisis in the mother's life. It is possible in the current case that the problems expressed by these mothers were part of other concerns which were not expressed. Certainly in view of what is known about the nature of attachment relationship, it is not an unexpected finding. It is a finding that might have interesting implications in further studies of the relationship between the father's family role and the security of the mother-child attachment bond. It would be of special interest to determine whether the husband's support is especially critical for mothers who have the combined responsibilities of home and work. Perhaps for working mothers the moral support of their spouses is a necessary part of their ability to function in a difficult variety of roles.

Attachment and Child Care. The classification of infants as normative, ambivalent or avoidant was similar to that noted in the first study (see Table 2). Few children in part-time day care were classified as non-normatively attached in either the first or second samples.

The full-time infants again displayed avoidant behaviors on reunion (see Table 3). However, with the sample from the second study, resistant behaviors were more frequently displayed.

Table 2

Numbers of Infants Classified as Avoidant, Normative or Ambivalent

	Avoidant	Normative	Ambivalent	Total Non-normative	
Sample 1 Full Day Care	3	6	1	4	.40
Sample 2 Full Day Care	2	5	2	4	.44
Combined Sample Full Day Care	5	11	3	8	.42
Sample 1 Part-Day Care	1	11	0	1	.09
Sample 2 Part-Day Care	1	7	1	2	.22
Combined Sample Part-Day Care	2	18	1	3	.14

Table 3

Percentage of Subjects Receiving Avoidant or Resisting Rating Scores of Three or Greater During Reunion Episode

	Full-Time Care		Part-Time Care	
	Sample 1 N = 10	Sample 2 N = 8	Sample 1 N = 12	Sample 2 N = 9
Avoidance Episode 5	80%	38%	33%	22%
Avoidance Episode 8	90%	75%	42%	44%
Resistance Episode 5	8%	13%	0%	22%
Resistance Episode 8	20%	50%	0%	44%

FOOTNOTES

1. Hoch, E. *Alternative Approaches to Child-Rearing and Their Effects on the Mother-Infant Relationship*. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University and Agricultural Research and Development Center, March, 1976.

2. Vaughn, B., Waters, E., Egeland, B., and Stroufe, L.A. "Individual Differences in Infant-Mother Attachment at 12 Months and 18 Months: Stability and Change in Families under Stress." *Child Development* 1979, 50, 971-975.

REFERENCES

Ainsworth, M., Bell, S.M., & Stayton, D. J. "Individual Differences in Strange Situation Behavior of One-Year Olds." In H. R. Schaffer (Ed.),*The Origins of Human Social Relations*,London: Academic Press, 1971.

Ainsworth, M., Blehar, M. Waters, E. & Wall, S. *Patterns of Attachment*. New York: Wiley, 1978.

Clarke-Stewart, K. A. "Interactions between Mothers and Their Children: Characteristics and Consequences." *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*. (1973) 153, 38.

Matas, L., Ahrend, R. A., Sroufe, L. A. "Continuity and Adaptation in the Second Year: The Relationship Between Quality of Attachment and Later Social Competence." *Child Development* (1978), 49, 547-556.

Portnoy, C. F. and Simmons, C. H. "Day Care and Attachment." *Child Development* (1978) 49, 239-242.

Schaffer, H. R. and Emerson, P. "Patterns of Response to Physical Contact in Early Human Development." *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 64, 5, 1-13.

Schwartz, Pamela. "The Effects of Daily Separations on Infants' Attachment to the Mother." Manuscript submitted for publication, November 1979.

Waters, E. "The Stability of Individual Differences in Infant-Mother Attachment." *Child Development* (1978) 49, 483-494.

MEANINGS OF WORK FOR MOTHERS

Marcia W. Plunkett

Our current knowledge about the effects of maternal employment for the very young child is scanty and contradictory. It seems clear that before we can assess it, we need to know how the mother feels about what she is doing.

My research focused on the women themselves, on the meaning of work and mothering in their lives, with an eye toward relating these meanings to the mother's relationship to her child. My study was clinical and psychodynamic in approach: that is, I wanted to get a complex, in-depth picture of the woman's feelings. I conducted several interviews with twenty working mothers and five non-working mothers of preschool children and their husbands. The women also filled out open-ended questionnaires and projective material. The aim was not to prove some preexisting hypothesis about the process of integrating work and mothering--few such hypothes exist--but rather through mutual exploration with the women to generate hypotheses which could be used in future research with larger samples. The data were systematically reviewed, using both qualitative and quantitative analyses and review by clinical judges.

The Sample. All the women in the study were married, with one or two children; twenty were working either full- or part-time (the number of working hours ranged from eight to over sixty). A range of occupations was represented, from highly professional careers to clerical jobs. However, in order to limit some of the socioeconomic discrepancies in the small sample, we chose mothers who had at least a B.A. degree, and had a family income ranging between $15,000 and $40,000, with the mean income $22,500. The child care most of the women used consisted of private care in a sitter's house, about 40 percent used formal day care or nursery.

Findings of the Study. Two distinct themes emerged from the interview material and from the written questions asking women why they were working and what were the gratifications of working. One was that working outside the house gives a woman a sense of autonomy and competence which is different from what she experiences at home. At work one can have a more clear-cut feeling of accomplishment; one knows when one is finished with a job, and how successfully it was accomplished. The opportunity for exerting control and mastery over the environment at work makes a woman feel more efficient and organized in general. Many mothers reported they acomplished more at home when they worked than when they didn't. This theme of working was called "ego mastery" gains.

A second gratification women reported they gained from working was social contact with other adults. The chance to interact in a variety of ways with other adults offsets the isolation of which new mothers often complain, and the sense of living only in a child's world. Not only is the child's world sometimes lacking in stimulation for women, but it is inherently unequal. Children demand and need more in the way of care and consideration than they can give. Working with other people, both superiors and colleagues, women have a chance to receive praise, encouragement, stimulation. Many mothers reported that they felt less dependent on their husbands for diversion when they worked, and that they had more to offer in conversation. This second working theme was termed "social affiliative" gains.

Interestingly, in this time of economic uncertainty, few of the women cited financial need as the primary reason for working. Even in those few cases where it was an important motivation, it was rarely singled out as the major reward or gratification. The gratifications most women reported were psychological.

While both types of gratification were true for most people, women varied on the relative salience of one or the other. Those women for whom ego mastery themes were clearly prominent tended to be in careers rather than [illegible]s, while job status was highly associated with social-affiliative rewards (p=.01 by Fischer's Exact Test. As this was an exploratory study, results of .20 or less are reported.). Career women feel better qualified for their work than job women (p=.01); feeling qualified is associated with job satisfaction (p=.21). Although career women in this sample earn more on the average, job satisfaction does not simply reflect earning power.

Although all the women were glad to be working, in spite of the many pressures of time and the juggling of multiple responsibilities, the importance of working to psychological well-being and identity varied. I asked women how they might feel differently about themselves if they were not working, and the coded questionnaire responses sorted into two levels, both implying feelings of disappointment and loss. One group was more extreme than the other, however, and projected a sense of demoralization and depression, as if their psychological equilibrium would be upset. The less extreme type of response reflected feelings of missing something important, which, however, could be replaced by other activities. I hypothesized that for the more extreme group working serves in part a defensive purpose to offset the conflicts encountered in the mothering role. Not to work would be to face threatening feelings of depression or anger at both the child now and at figures from the past which the mothering situation revives. The association between conflict and tension in the mothering role and the propensity for extreme disequilibrium if not working is strong ($p=.11$), bearing out this hypothesis. (Of the total twenty working mothers, seven were placed in the extreme disequilibrium group and thirteen in the other group.)

Meaning of Mothering. Becoming a mother is a major life crisis, as in any crisis an opportunity exists for reworking residual conflicts from earlier periods. The crucial issues for new mothers involve their own dependency issues in relation to their actual and internal mothers. The real neediness of the infant and preschooler stirs up these issues with a vividness and intensity that can be gratifying and fulfilling for some, or upsetting and disorienting for others. Anger at not being able to meet the child's perceived needs, identification with the child's neediness and helplessness, can reflect in women feelings about their own mothers.

Women for whom the issues of early mothering are not particularly threatening or intractable are more likely to combine work and mothering successfully. For them, the two roles complement each other: each role provides feelings of self-esteem and competence that reverberate in both areas. When mothering goes well, women report that they enjoy their work more, and that their work makes them feel more adult and more competent.

However, when working is serving defensive purposes, the integration does not go as smoothly. While some of the anger may be channeled out of the home and away from the child, the reasons for the anger may not necessarily be resolved. In such a situation the guilt about working and the feelings of estrangement from the home are heightened, mothers may feel that being a mother negatively influences their work ($p=.10$). This state of tension is more typical for career-ego mastery women than for job women ($p=.11$ for association between work gratification type and propensity for disequilibrium if not working).

Childcare Decision Making. A major area of the research focused on the childcare decision making process, largely the domain of the mothers. Again and again women reported that reliable childcare was the pivot to the management of their lives. I found that what women seek in childcare and what they view as acceptable standards of care vary markedly. The first variation was between career and job women; the second variation was between mothers with more conflict about mothering, and those with less. I will concentrate here on the second distinction, for it is the more dramatic one.

To a highly significant degree women for whom mothering is intensely troubling return to work earlier in their children's lives (comparing the two groups on return before or after ten months, the difference was at the level of p=.01). These women also place their children in childcare for more hours per week, even though they do not work more themselves (p=.20). The interviews revealed that the more conflicted mothers were less concerned with stability of care for their children and were less sensitive to the potential stress for them at times of separation and reunion. The conflicted women reported many tensions between themselves and the caretakers, which could take the form of feeling chronically criticized by them or being in competition for the child's affection.

For all women childcare is a difficult area to manage. They must try to meet the needs of their children and at the same time meet their own. They are not sure what happens when the child is with the caretaker, and they have to deal with feelings of jealousy or exclusion from the relationship between caretaker and child, which--if they want the best for the young child--they will want to be close and enduring. The more secure mothers can cope better with these difficulties. They acknowledge the difficulties and uncertainties, and they attempt to form a personal relationship themselves with the caretakers so that there is an open exchange of communication about the child. More conflicted mothers seem to be laboring under unconscious transference toward the caretaker to the ultimate detriment of the child. Where the mother transfers to the caretaker the characteristics of her own mother, perceived as controlling and superior, battles about who is the "real" mother can result in decisions not in the child's best interest--such as shuttling the child in and out of a series of childcare set-ups. Another manifestation of a mother's distortion is the denial of obvious problems the child may be having in a particular childcare situation, almost as if the mother feels powerless to help her child, or in more extreme cases, may be unconsciously aggressing against the child.

Childcare decisions are complicated and subtle. Since the mothers make the decisions and evaluate the effects on the child, their own identities as mothers will be translated into what they seek in child care.

An unfortunate implication of this research is that those children for whom good childcare might be the most useful are the ones least likely to get it, as problems in the mother-child relationship are juggled. A policy implication of this finding is that mothers and caretakers need better guidelines about the handling of childcare: timing, amount, communication between caretaker and parents. Another implication is that in giving guidance to women, intervention should include discussion about the covert meanings of working to a woman, for these will influence both the mother's and the child's adjustment. Understanding what a woman wants from working will be particularly useful for those women who may be unconsciously looking at work to solve deeper problems in the mother-child relationship, because research indicates work is not likely to solve them.

INTERROLE CONFLICT, COPING STRATEGIES, AND SATISFACTION AMONG BLACK WORKING WIVES *

Algea Othella Harrison
and
Joanne Holbert Minor

Abstract. *The purpose of this study was to examine the relationships between type of interrole conflict, choice of coping strategy, and overall satisfaction with role performance of black employed wives with children. Respondents (N = 104) completed a questionnaire on how satisfied they were with their role performance and the type of coping strategies used to handle marital conflicts. It was found that type of conflict influenced the choice of coping strategy. However, choice of coping strategy did not relate to satisfaction with role performance. Professional and nonprofessional subjects differed in degree of worker satisfaction. Husband's approval did not affect satisfaction with worker role.*

This study focused on interrole conflicts experienced by black employed wives with children, strategies used to cope with interrole conflict, and the degree of self-satisfaction with role performance. Using Levinson's (1959) definition of role as a process, Hall (1972) has developed a model of coping strategies used by persons to handle interrole conflicts. Levinson described three components of the role process related to a person in a given social position: (1) structurally given demands (*i.e.*, norms and expectations that guide, impede or support the functioning of a person in a specific position); (2) personal role conception (*i.e.*, the person's inner definition of what he is supposed to think and do); (3) role behavior (*i.e.*, the way in which persons act in accordance with or in violation of a given set of organizational norms). Given these three components of the role process, Hall defined the type of coping mechanism that would intervene at each.

Type I was defined as the coping strategy used for structurally imposed demands, that is, structural role redefinition. In this case, one would attempt to alter or change the expectations of others regarding one's performance in the specific role. In other words, one would reduce role conflict by changing external demands on one's behavior from others. This type of coping behavior requires communication between the person in a social role and role senders for the purpose of redefining the role. According to Hall, the critical features of behaviors that would be classified at Type I coping "all involve dealing directly with environmental transmitters of the structurally imposed demands, actively attempting to alter (reduce, reallocate, reschedule, and so forth) these demands and coming to agreement with the role senders on a new set of expectations."

The specific behaviors of Type I coping are: the elimination of role activities, but not entire roles; role support from outside the role set, role support from inside the role set (usually the family), problem solving with role senders, role integration; and the change of the societal definition of one's roles. An example of behavior categorized by Hall as Type I coping was that of a woman who stated that she and her husband openly discussed conflicts and he helped her decide how to deal with them; *i.e.*, problem solving with role senders.

As noted by Hall, this type of coping represents a more stable, permanent resolution of conflict. Hall also described the coping mechanism for the personal role conception. He called it personal role redefinition or Type II coping. In this case, the person attempts to make internal changes in attitude and perceptions to reduce role conflicts. In contrast, Type I coping involves attempting to change the external environment as well as the internal. According to Hall, in Type II coping the actual behavior of role senders may remain unchanged, "but by seeing one's own behavior or the external expectations in a different light, one attempts to reduce the amount of conflict actually experienced." Specific behaviors included in Type II coping are: establishing priorities; partitioning and separating roles; overlooking role demands; changing attitudes toward roles; eliminating roles, etc. For example, when a subject responded that she stopped working because she felt that her child was deprived and she was exhausted, Hall categorized her behavior as Type II coping (*i.e.*, eliminating roles). Furthermore, in Type II coping, the individual makes private decisions and does not seek consensus from the role senders. Finally, relief from interrole conflicts using Type II coping is less permanent since the expectations and perceptions of the role senders may remain unchanged.

The last type of coping defined by Hall was Type III, reactive role behavior. In Type III coping one attempts to satisfy the demands of role senders by improving the quality of one's role performance. Hall noted that an implicit assumption in using Type III coping was "one's role demands are unchangeable and that the person's main task is to find ways to meet them; this also involves a passive or reactive orientation toward one's roles." The type of behaviors included in Type III coping are: planning, scheduling, and organizing better; no conscious strategy; and working harder. Moreover, Hall viewed Type III behavior more as defensive than as coping behavior. Type III coping involves considerable personal strain and, contrary to Type I and Type II coping, there is no attempt to change internal or external perceptions of one's role.

Hall explored the relationship between the three coping strategies and personal satisfaction, with data from two samples. The subjects in both a pilot sample and a systematic survey were white, predominantly college educated women. In the pilot sample satisfaction was related positively to Type I coping ($p < .01$). On the other hand, the relationship between satisfaction and Type I coping for the main sample of women only approached significance ($p < .07$). However, Type III coping was related negatively to satisfaction with the main sample as compared to no significant relationship with the pilot sample. Hall surmised that his explorations indicated that Type I and Type III coping are related to satisfaction of married women with their roles. After this development, Hall cautioned that it was not possible to generalize these results to other role conflict situations without considering the type of role conflict. Accordingly, the present study was designed to investigate the relationship among three types of interrole conflicts (*i.e.*, wife and worker, mother and worker, and mother and wife), choice of coping strategy and satisfaction.

Study of Black Working Wives. The present analysis was not a replication of Hall's 1972 study but used data from another sample, that of black working wives. A large percentage of the black female population combines the roles of worker, wife, and mother. Fifty-nine percent of black married women with children under the age of 16 living in the home are employed (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970). Indeed, black wives often work when, by white standards, they would not be expected to (Beckett, 1976). In families in which the male worker earned more than $15,000, more black wives (53.5 percent) than white wives (28.6 percent) were in the labor force. Therefore, data on how a selected sample of black working women are coping with interrole conflicts should be useful for the discussion of coping strategies.

In coping with interrole conflicts, the sample, it was hypothesized, would vary their choice of coping strategy with the type of conflict. Hall noted that the major role problem faced by women was interrole conflict (conflict from multiple roles) rather than intrarole conflict (conflicting expectations within a given role). Employed married women with children living in the home are performing three major roles: wife, worker, and mother. Thus, it is inevitable that conflict will arise between these roles because of time and personal energy limitations. For instance, a woman whose job requires a lot of physical exertion may experience such conflict when her husband demands that they entertain frequently to further his career.

It was expected that, for wife and worker interrole conflicts, the choice of coping strategy for the sample would be Type I; *i.e.*, structural role redefinition. Black males are generally supportive of working wives and black females believe that their husbands expect them to work (Axelson, 1970; Entwisle and Greenberger, 1970). In addition, black males tend to be less stereotypic in their view of the female sex role than white males (O'Leary and Harrison, 1975). Also, black women with high career expectations thought that most men they knew preferred more work involvement for their wives (Turner and McCaffrey, 1974). Moreover, black wives are rated higher than white wives by their husbands on having the knowledge and experience to hold a job (Scanzoni, 1975). Since black husbands are receptive to the idea of their wives working, it was hypothesized that their wives could easily communicate and negotiate with them when conflict arose; *i.e.*, Type I coping.

Although it was predicted that Type I coping was used to handle wife and worker conflicts, it was assumed that mother and worker conflicts were resolved with Type II; *i.e.*, personal role redefinition. A possible conflict between mother and worker roles exists, for instance, in the case of a mother who is required frequently to work over-time on her job. The person must decide whether to continue working at her present job or to get another job if she wants to spend as much time as possible with her children. Most black females want to work outside the home after marriage and the arrival of children (Kuvlesky and Obordo, 1972) and this decision is strongly influenced by the economic conditions of their lives. Being a "good provider" is viewed as an essential part of being a successful mother (Myers, 1975). Also, more black than white women thought a working mother could establish as strong a relationship with her children as a nonworking mother (Mosley, 1976). Interestingly, black more than white children perceived both parents as effectively able to fulfill both instrumental functions (*i.e.*, ability to obtain food, clothing, shelter, etc.) and expressive functions (*i.e.*, ability to provide emotional support, warmth, patience, etc.) (Beckett, 1976). Therefore, it was expected that women in this sample would use Type II coping to handle mother and worker conflicts. That is to say, the subjects would cope with mother and worker conflicts by altering their own perceptions and attitudes to reduce conflict between these two salient roles.

The coping strategies developed for handling conflicts in the worker and wife role (Type I) and the worker and mother role (Type II) were expected to prevail in handling mother and wife conflicts. Bell (1971) found that for lower-class black women the mother role was valued more highly than the wife role. Indeed, working-class black wives found the role of wife less satisfying than did white wives of the same category (Blood and Wolfe, 1971). Since motherhood is valued highly by black women (Ladner, 1972), it was expected that they would prioritize the mother role over the wife role or negotiate with husbands concerning their expectations. Therefore, it was assumed that the subjects with children would use a non-Type III (either Type I or Type II) strategy in coping with mother and wife conflicts.

This study also investigated whether or not satisfaction with the role of worker was influenced by husband's approval of working. It has been reported that black wives were more likely to work in spite of negative attitudes on the part of their husbands (Beckett, 1976). Although black wives may enter the labor force without their husbands' approval, their husbands' attitude would influence their satisfaction with the worker role. It was reasonable to expect that if a woman has prepared herself for a career, her husband would not object to her working. If she was working to supplement family income, however, this would impinge upon his male image and increase conflict over the worker role. Therefore, it was predicted that there would be an interaction between the subject's job status and husband's approval of working on satisfaction with the worker role.

The experimental hypotheses thus investigated were:

1. A relationship exists between type of interrole conflict (*i.e.*, wife and worker, mother and worker, mother and wife) and choice of coping strategy (Type I, Type II, Type III).
2. A relationship exists between the use of Type I coping strategy in wife and worker conflicts and overall satisfaction.
3. A relationship exists between the use of Type II coping strategy in mother and worker conflicts and overall satisfaction.
4. A relationship exists between the use of Type III coping strategy in mother and wife conflicts and overall satisfaction.
5. An interaction exists between professional and nonprofessional job status and husbands' approval of working on career satisfaction.

Instrument. A 34-item questionnaire was used to collect the data. The first 1[illegible] questions requested demographic information. Of the remaining 20 questions, 10 were relevant to this study. Interspersed in the questionnaire were three questions that assessed whether or not the respondent experienced conflict between two specific roles; *e.g.*, "Do you see conflicts between your roles as a mother and as a wife?"

A specific question also related to career satisfaction: "How satisfied do you feel with your career?" The responses to this question were scored in the same manner as the question relating to general satisfaction. Finally, a question relating to husband's approval of working was included: "Does your husband approve of your working?"

Sampling. A small city approximately 20 miles from a large urban center was chosen for sampling. The membership lists of two black professional and civic women's organizations were used as a source for the sample. A total of 170 questionnaires were distributed; 82 (48 percent) were returned.

In addition, an effort was made to include nonprofessional black women in the sample to increase the generalizability of the study among black working wives. The size of the black community in the target city lent itself to the use of the random intercept method (Word, 1977). This technique has been successfully used in low-income black communities where there is a reluctance on the part of blacks of this economic status to complete and return questionnaires. Furthermore, blacks in this economic group are reluctant to participate in surveys when they are approached in their homes. Therefore, the decision was made to approach black nonprofessional women in work locations. A black female student distributed one hundred questionnaires to non-professional workers at a local elementary school, two beauty parlors, three fast food eating establishments and the main gate of an automobile plant. Forty-seven percent were returned. Of the nonprofessional questionnaires, 43 were appropriate for this analysis, in addition to 61 of the professional questionnaires.

Subjects. All the subjects in the study (N = 104) were full-time employed, black married women with husbands present in the home. The median age of the subjects was 34. All of the subjects had children under the age of 18 living in the home. The average number of children for the sample was 2.4, with a range of 1 to 6. The median number of years employed was 10 and the median number of years married was 11.

In response to the question, "Did you stay home more than one year when any of your children were born?" 59 percent said "No." Family income in the sample was separated into three categories: two families earned under $10,000, 28 between $10,000 and $25,000, and 74 over $25,000.

Occupational data provided by the subjects were used to divide the sample into professional and nonprofessional groups. The job titles were categorized as professional or nonprofessional based on information from the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* (U.S. Department of Labor, 1977). The women in the professional group were employed in the following positions: 11 administrators, two psychologists, 42 educators, and six social workers. The women in the nonprofessional sample were employed in the following positions: seven sales workers, 14 service workers, seven assembly line workers, and 15 clerical workers. A preliminary analysis of the data indicated no significant differences between the professional and nonprofessional members of the sample on responses to questions pertaining to inter-role conflict and coping strategies.

Results. The first hypothesis predicted a relationship between the type of interrole conflict and the choice of coping strategy. The subjects had described separately for each type of role conflict (*i.e.*, wife and worker, mother and worker, and mother and wife) how they handled the problems. The responses to each role conflict were categorized as either Type I, Type II, or Type III. The results of a *Chi*-square for independence are presented in Table 1.

There is a significant association between type of interrole conflict and choice of coping strategy. In wife and worker role conflicts, 64 percent of the sample chose Type I, 15 percent used Type II, and 21 percent used Type III. In mother and worker role conflicts, the majority of the subjects (46 percent) were using Type II and the remainder of the sample were evenly split between Type I (27 percent) and Type III (27 percent). For mother and wife role conflicts, only 15 percent of the sample used Type III coping strategy; the others used either Type I (44 percent) or Type II (41 percent).

It was also hypothesized that there were relationships between the choice of coping strategy for a specific interrole conflict and overall satisfaction with role performance. There is no significant relationship between overall satisfaction and choice of coping strategy for wife and worker roles, mother and worker roles, or mother and wife roles. Finally, in terms of overall satisfaction with role performance, 46 percent of the sample were very satisfied, 42 percent were mildly satisfied, and 12 percent were dissatisfied.

Finally, it was hypothesized that there was an interaction between job status of the subjects and husbands' approval of working on career satisfaction.

There is a significant difference between the professional and nonprofessional categories on satisfaction with career. The data indicate that husbands' approval of working had no effect on career satisfaction. There is a significant interaction between husbands' approval of working, career satisfaction, and professional and nonprofessional categories. However, the significant interaction is mainly due to the job status of the subjects.

Discussion. The present experiment provides support for the hypothesized relationship between type of interrole conflict and choice of coping strategy among black wives. Whenever there was a conflict between wife and worker roles, the subjects chose Type I coping strategy to handle the conflict. In mother and worker role conflict, the most frequently used coping strategy was Type II. In other words, this sample of black working women varied their choice of coping stategy as the identity of the role sender changed. In addition, the choice of coping strategy for mother and wife role conflicts was evenly split between Type I and Type II. It appears that in mother and wife role conflicts, Type I is used with the husband in explaining the priority placed on the mother role and renegotiating the husband's expectation. One respondent reported: "I meet the needs of my children unless great conflict arises, then I try to compromise." Type II is also used in mother and wife role conflicts to meet the role expectations of the children. For example, one subject reported, "Since we are adults, our needs are usually held up while I deal with the children."

While subjects are varying their choice of coping strategy depending on the roles in conflict, this behavior does not relate to overall satisfaction. One possible explanation for this finding is that the use of a less effective technique (Type II) in handling other role conflicts negates the positive effects of using Type I for wife and worker role conflicts. In other words, the high use of Type II coping strategy in mother and worker and mother and wife roles conflicts negates the positive effects that may be expected from using Type I coping.

The change in coping strategy; *i.e.*, use of Type II in mother and worker and mother and wife role conflicts, may relate to the importance of motherhood. Historically, the role of mother has been of primary importance. This perspective has not changed significantly for today's working mothers. In addition, the sample included a large number of professional women who work for more than economic reasons. These women reported feeling guilty (76 percent) about the amount of time spent away from their children. For these reasons, when the mother role is involved in conflicts, whether with the worker or wife roles, the subject gives priority to the mother role. Prioritizing roles does not eliminate the role demands of the role sender but requires the working mother to choose her mother role while giving lower priority to other roles. Thus, none of the children's demands are discussed or negotiated. Instead, the mother tries to meet all the role demands of the children and put other roles on a secondary level.

Paradoxically, almost half (44 percent) of the sample indicated satisfaction with the way they handled their roles in life. This could mean that the women in the sample have accepted the need to use varying coping models when dealing with role conflict. The socialization process for women supports their giving priority to some roles and negotiating role demands for others. Consequently, the subjects perceive themselves as having adjusted to their role demands in the best possible way. Therefore, they do not attempt to cope to maximize satisfaction. They have accepted the reality of their lives and see no options for change through varying coping strategies to maximize satisfaction. These subjects are coping in the traditional way and they are satisfied.

This study also investigated whether or not husbands' approval had any effect on worker satisfaction, since black wives work whether or not their husbands approve. It was found that husbands' approval did not affect the subjects' satisfaction with worker roles. The greatest influence on career satisfaction was whether or not the subject was a professional worker.

TABLE 1. TYPE OF INTERROLE CONFLICT AND CHOICE OF COPING STRATEGY (IN PERCENTS)

	Type I	Type II	Type III	
Wife and worker	64	15	21	
Mother and worker	27	46	27	$X^2 = 22.752$
Mother and wife	44	41	15	$p < .001$

*This paper was originally published in *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, November 1978.

References

Axelson, Leland J. "The working wife: Differences in perception among Negro and white males." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 32 (August 1970): 457-464.

Beckett, Joyce O. "Working wives: A racial comparison." *Social Work* 21 (November 1976): 463-471.

Bell, Robert. "The related importance of mother and wife roles among black lower-class women." Pp. 248-255 in Robert Staples (Ed.), *The Black Family: Essays and Studies*. Belmont: Wadsworth, 1971.

Blood, Robert O., and Donald M. Wolfe. "Negro-white differences in blue-collar marriages in a Northern metropolis." Pp. 171-177 in Robert Staples (Ed.), *The Black Family: Essays and Studies*. Belmont: Wadsworth, 1971.

Entwisle, Doris, and Ellen Greenberger, "A survey of cognitive styles in Maryland 9th graders: View of women's roles." Report No. 89. Baltimore: Center for the Study of Social Organization of Schools, Johns Hopkins University, 1970.

Hall, Douglas T. "A model of coping with role conflict: The role behavior of college educated women." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 4 (December 1972): 471-486.

Kuvlesky, William P., and Angelita S. Obordo. "A racial comparison of teenage girls' projection for marriage and procreation." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 34 (February 1972): 75-84.

Ladner, Joyce. *Tomorrow's Tomorrow*. Garden City: Doubleday, 1972.

Levinson, Daniel J. "Role personality and social structure in the organizational setting." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 58 (January-May, 1959): 170-180.

Mosley, Myrtis. "Self-perception of roles of black and white female college students." Unpublished manuscript, University of Cincinnati, 1976.

Myers, Lena. "Black women: Selectivity among roles and reference groups in the maintenance of self-esteem." *Journal of Social and Behavioral Sciences* 21 (Winter 1975): 39-47.

O'Leary, Virginia and Algea O. Harrison, "Sex role stereotypes as a function of race and sex." Paper presented at the 83rd Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, Chicago, August, 1975.

Scanzoni, John. "Sex roles, economic factors, and marital solidarity in black and white marriages." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 37 (February 1975): 130-144.

Turner, Barbara F. and Joanne McCaffrey. "Socialization and career orientation among black and white college women." *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 5 (December 1974): 307-319.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Employment Status and Work Experience.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970.

U.S. Department of Labor. *The Dictionary of Occupational Titles.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977.

Word, Carl. "Cross cultural methods for survey research in black urban areas." *The Journal of Black Psychology* 3 (February 1977): 72-87.

GENERATIONAL AND LIFE-CYCLE EFFECTS ON WOMEN'S ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION*

Catherine A. Faver

In this social structural approach to the study of women's achievement orientation, we examine generational and life-cycle effects on both the level of women's achievement and its mode of expression through career and family. Achievement orientation was measured by a set of four items which tapped a sense of personal efficacy, competence and self-esteem about achievement.

The data for this study were derived from a mailed questionnaire survey conducted in 1977 by the University of Michigan Center for Continuing Education of Women. The subjects are a cross-sectional, nonprobability sample of 1,120 women, ages 22 to 64, who contacted the Center between 1964 and 1973. Compared to a national probability sample, the CEW sample includes a larger proportion of white, married, highly educated, relatively affluent women.

The results of our analysis suggest three major conclusions:

1. The level of women's achievement orientation is stable during adulthood.

Specifically, we found that level of achievement orientation does not vary with age and life-cycle stage, but is positively related to indicators of achievement goals during youth. Although the data are not longitudinal, these findings suggest stability, rather than change, in the level of women's achievement orientation across the adult life-cycle.

---

*This paper summarizes the conclusions of a doctoral dissertation "Women and Achievement Orientation Across the Life-Cycle," University of Michigan, 1979.

Our findings thus contradict prior research, which reported associations between changes in the level of women's achievement orientation and both a) family life-cycle stages and b) employment patterns (Baruch, 1967). In asserting stability in women's achievement orientation, our study suggests that the relationship between women's employment patterns and family life-cycle stages may not be attributed to life-cycle changes in level of achievement orientation.

2. Variance in the expression of women's achievement orientation through career and family reflects both generational and life-cycle effects.

Our study thus emphasizes the importance of historical context and structural position in channeling the expression of women's achievement orientation into career or family. Specifically, we found that the value that women assign to career and family achievement varies with age and marital and parental status. Career values are higher among women who are young, single, childless, or beyond the preschool family stage. Family values, in contrast, are higher among women who are older, married, or the mothers of preschool children. Yet, young married mothers are especially likely to value both career and family attainment.

Earlier research has revealed an increase in young women's aspirations for both career and family (Cross, 1975). Our study indicates further that women's high valuation of both career and family attainment persists into adulthood, even during the demanding stage of early motherhood.

3. Child-care responsibilities exert an important constraint on the actualization of women's career values through paid employment.

The greatest discrepancy between level of career values and full-time employment occurs among young married mothers of preschool children, whose child-care responsibilities are greatest. Moreover, life satisfaction is particularly low among young mothers with high career values. Thus, despite the high family values also characteristic of early motherhood, these findings suggest that women's low employment rates during this period represent not choice, but rather the constraints of childrearing on career activity. In other words, the data suggest that the association between the family life-cycle and women's employment patterns results not from a diminution of achievement orientation during the early family-building years, but from the constraints imposed by maternal responsibilities which limit participation in the paid labor force during those years.

Paradoxically, then, our data reflect both social change and stability. There has been a clear generational shift toward higher career values, but at the same time child-rearing responsibilities continue to confine women to the home during early motherhood.

Overall, social structural position emerges in this study as a strong determinant of the expression of women's achievement orientation through attainment *values* and employment *behavior*. Here we find that women's career activity is inhibited primarily by structural, rather than psychological, factors. By implication, changes in the structures of family role responsibilities and traditional job requirements, as well as provision of greater societal supports for parenting, are necessary to enhance women's career opportunities and participation.

References

Baruch, Rhoda. "The Achievement Motive in Women: Implications for Career Development," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 5 (March 1967):260-267.

Cross, K. Patricia. "Women As New Students." In *Women and Achievement: Social and Motivational Analyses*, pp. 339-354. Edited by Martha T. S. Mednick, Sandra S. Tangri, and Lois W. Hoffman. Washington, D.C.: Hemisphere, 1975.

III.

STAGES IN THE LIFE OF
THE FAMILY

PSYCHOLOGICAL CORRELATES OF EARLY FAMILY FORMATION

Karen C. Mikus

Despite its everyday occurrence, parenthood is a role with many complexities. Since successful reproduction and child-rearing are essential to the survival of our species and our cultures, the parent role provides a critical function and is highly valued for the assurance of continuation which it provides. On the more interpersonal and personal levels, the generative function of parenthood for families and individuals also contributes to the role's significance for its occupants. Given the importance of the parental role, both in people's experiences and in terms of species survival, it is surprising to discover that parenthood is a role with low status and little prestige (Bernard, 1974; Callahan, 1973; Chesler, 1979; McBride, 1973). It is this paradox, among several others, that makes the parental role complicated and intriguing--for its occupants, for researchers, and for those who work with parents in clinical and community settings.

Several additional conditions contribute to the complex nature of the role which so many varied personalities enact. Unlike many other adult roles, the parental role, especially for women, tends to be irrevocable--that is, there is no gracious and acceptable way to exit, to leave the role should a person discover that she/he is uncomfortable with or unsuited to parenthood. Being a parent is a 24-hour-a-day, 7-day-a-week, 52-week-a-year, year after year responsibility. Talk about intensity! Even when parents are physically away from their children--at work, out to dinner, or maybe on a vacation--they are still parents and still accountable for whatever transpires with their children. Parenthood is, therefore, an intense role experience--in terms of both physical and psychological time and energy.

Moreover, in our culture preparation for parenthood, while not absent, is certainly not substantial. Fewer and fewer people grow up taking care of younger siblings, and more and more parents-to-be have never been around infants for any length of time. In contrast to other cultures (Hubert, 1974), in which women actively care for several babies prior to having their own children, we consider ourselves "prepared" if we see a movie about childbirth and attend an infant care class where we bathe a doll. Lack of hands-on experience is compounded by the abruptness of the transition period; there is no courtship or engagement phase (Rossi, 1968), no chance to exchange the life partner, the baby, for one who more closely fits the parent's style and temperament. One day you're pregnant and the next day you're a parent, cradling what is, for many people, the most awesome responsibility of their lives. Nor do we as a society offer much support to parents. Isolation, limited resources, and exhaustion are often the earmarks of early parenthood. In response to all of which a friend of mine recently commented, as she rocked her tiny, home-two-days newborn, "I've never felt so alone, so responsible, so incompetent in my life, and nothing else I've ever tried to do has mattered so much or been so important!"

In terms of its intensity, its irrevocability, the long-range nature of its goals, the high visibility of its "product" (the child-grown-up), the extensive arousal of one's own early childhood experiences and affect, and the constantly changing requirements of the role, perhaps no other adult role so thoroughly engages us as parenthood. For all these reasons parenthood is an extremely important role and the experiences which accompany the early years of this role are particularly interesting.

Stressful transition or crisis? Early research (LeMaster, 1957) suggested that the transition to parenthood was a time of crisis for the adults involved. Some later researchers (Dyer, 1963; Feldman, 1974) have supported this position and placed a crisis theory framework on early parenthood, while other researchers have found that the level of crisis is slight to moderate for most people becoming parents for the first time (Hobbs, 1976; Rossi, 1968; Russell, 1974). These latter behavioral scientists prefer to discuss entrance into parenthood as a major developmental stage or transition, but not as a crisis. Whichever perspective is taken, there appears to be consensus that assumption of the parental role represents an important phenomenon in the lives of the adults involved and engages people in a period characterized by significant disequilibrium and major reorganization. The new role of parent must be learned, assumed, enacted at the same time that the prior roles of spouse, daughter, sister, worker, community participant, and friend must be renegotiated and, perhaps, redesigned (Miller and Newman, 1978).

If the parental role is a unique and particularly demanding one, and if the early years of enacting this role involve major shifts, do parents report some level of stress in the early years? In order to explore this question, parents and non-parents were compared on a wide range of variables dealing with the quality of their lives and their feelings of satisfaction and difficulty.

The Sample. The sample was drawn from national survey data, collected in a 1976 study entitled "A Study of Modern Living."[1] The parenthood group was comprised of 99 women and 105 men, who are 21 to 39 years of age, married, and have any number of children under the age of six years. My comparison group consists of people in the same age range, also married, who have no children: there are 57 non-parent men and 66 non-parent women.

It is important to remember two things as I present some of my initial findings. First, since the data do not include before and after parenthood interviews, we do not know what the parents in the sample were like prior to parenthood. We can only conclude that a certain response or set of responses is more characteristic of parents or seems to be related to parental role occupancy. Secondly, these findings are preliminary. The two groups differ somewhat on certain characteristics. For instance, more parents of both sexes have been married longer than non-parents and more of the non-parent women are working in paid employment. I have not yet controlled for these and other differences, although I plan to do so. Therefore, some of the findings may be as much a result of differences in length of marriage or working status as due to differences in parental role status. However, the preliminary data do provide a number of findings which bear further investigation and will be useful as stimuli for triggering thought and discussion about the stage of early family formation.

Findings Among Parents and Non-Parents. In many cases, no significant differences between parents and childless people, within sex, were found. For instance, the two groups of women did not differ on measures of depression, anxiety, amount of worry, feelings of being overwhelmed, or the frequency with which bad things happened to them. Nor did the two groups of men show significant differences on these measures, except for a tendency for more fathers to say they worried "a lot or always." The women did not respond differentially to questions about general happiness and levels of satisfaction with the way they are spending their lives, and no differences between the men emerged for these variables.

A number of interesting differences did appear, however, primarily differences between the two groups of women. More mothers than non-parent women answered "yes" when asked,"Have you ever felt that you were going to have a nervous breakdown?" The women also differed on a measure of efficacy and a measure of self esteem. Seventy-three percent of the women without children emerged with feelings of high efficacy; in contrast, only 40 percent of the women with children felt that their impact on their environment and circumstances was in the high range. This makes sense when we consider that the items comprising the efficacy rating have to do with respondents' abilities to carry out the plans they make and their feelings about being able to run their own lives. Observation of a mother with preschoolers quickly suggests that such women probably do have less control over their lives--their plans may often have to change because a child is sick or the toddler takes a much-needed nap at an unplanned time. Although the mothers' responses may well be reality-based, the finding regarding efficacy reflects an important difference in the experiences of women with and without children. Not only do fewer mothers feel effective but more mothers appeared in the "low" range on a measure of self esteem. This finding may reflect several additional aspects of early parenthood: one, the uncertainties and feelings of incompetence that can accompany the assumption of a new role, and also the questions about self and identity which can arise as women struggle to integrate the maternal role with the presence or absence of other roles and activities.

These findings suggest that the period of early family formation may indeed be a time of increased stress and difficulty for the adults involved. However, the number of nonsignificant results between parents and nonparents by sex indicates that parents are not in a state of complete crisis that is significantly different from that of the non-parents. In combination, these results support the perspective which regards early parenthood as a difficult, probably stressful, time of transition rather than one of severe crisis.

Parenthood and Marriage. As noted earlier, the addition of the parental role has implications for the other roles which each new parent occupies or has occupied. A number of researchers have been particularly interested in the impact of parenthood on marriage. Marital satisfaction at various points in the family life cycle has been studied with varying results. Some researchers (Feldman, 1974; Wandersman, 1978) report that marital satisfaction decreases with the birth of the first child, while others (Hobbs, 1976; Russell, 1974; Ryder, 1973) have found that their respondents rated their marriages as the same or better following the birth of their first child. One study (Bram, 1978) revealed no significant differences between a childless group and a group of parents in feelings about their marriages, while another study (Thornton, 1977) indicated that childless women had a higher probability of marital dissolution than did women with a few to medium number of children. It is important to remember when considering these varying results that the overall level of satisfaction with marriage remains relatively high across the entire family life span, even when statistically significant dips are noted at particular points (Rollins and Cannon, 1974).

What kinds of responses regarding marriage appeared in the current data for parents and non-parents? A significant difference in reported level of marital happiness was noted for the women. Ninety-one percent of the childless women versus 72 percent of the mothers identified their marriages as "above average or very happy." No statistically significant difference was found for men, although a slight tendency in the same direction appeared. A measure of "marital harmony" revealed significant differences for both sexes, with more childless men than fathers reporting a high level of marital harmony and more mothers than non-mothers reporting a lower level of harmony. More men without children than fathers expressed a "positive or very positive" view of marriage on a general question; no significant differences for the women emerged here. Finally, more mothers than childless women reported problems in their marriages with no significant differences found for the men. "Aha'" we might say, "It's true--parents have unhappier marriages than people with no children."

Let us stop for a moment and entertain several considerations before we repeat this conclusion. A look at the marital harmony items reveals that the items tap the frequency the respondents chatted with their spouses and were physically affectionate with their spouses in the last two weeks. Again, brief observation of a family with preschoolers quickly highlights the time crunch such people face. Both marital harmony items are time-related, and couples with young children are indeed likely to have less time to spend with each other than childless couples have. This measure does not, however, really tap the level of people's satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the amount of time spent with the spouse. And what if it did? What if parents said that yes, they had less time with their spouses and wished they had more--would this mean that their marriages were unhappy? Not necessarily. It is important to know that the great majority of mothers and fathers in the current sample rated their marriages as "average" or above and that over three-quarters of the men and women in each of two groups indicated that their marriages fulfilled their most important value in life "a lot or a great deal." Interestingly, most of the fathers and mothers say that children bring the husband and wife closer together, rather than farther apart, some or both, or no change.

It would be naive and unrealistic to assume that the addition of a demanding, dependent, time- and energy-consuming child--however delightful and desired--in no way affects the parents' relationship as a couple. Indeed, the data we have been discussing suggest that there are some differences in terms of marital happiness and problems between people with and without children. But the findings do not suggest that the presence of children uniformly damages or diminishes the marital relationship.

This combination of results regarding the impact of parenthood on marriage points to a need for additional, finer, more subtle investigation. What aspects of marriage become more salient when children arrive? What aspects of marriage are enhanced by the assumption of the parental role and which areas of marriage become less gratifying and why? What influence do pre-children levels of marital happiness exert and what role do people's expectations of marriage after children play? In other words, we need to push beyond global measures of marital satisfaction or unhappiness to take a closer look at the subtleties of the marital relationship and the ways in which the presence or absence of children changes the nature and importance of various aspects of people's marriages.

Social Support. The reorganization of relationships with the advent of parenthood may begin with the marital relationship but surely does not end there. The balance of other important interpersonal interactions may be tipped off-center with the birth of children, and new parents frequently find themselves engaged in a reappraisal of their relationships with their families of origin and with their friends (Breen, 1975; Duvall, 1971). At least for a time, disequilibrium and uncertainty characterize the interpersonal arena for people adjusting to parenthood. Friendship patterns and contact with relatives may change. Some researchers have found that parents have more contact with their relatives than childless adults do. (Bram, 1978; Hoffman, 1978), and other writers (Breen, 1979; Chesler, 1979) have observed that renegotiation with one's family of origin may involve considerable conflict and tension. Grandparenthood may be a new role for one's own parents, and one that comes more easily to some than to others; thus, the availability of grandparents as a supportive resource varies widely, depending on both geographical and psychological distances.

Parenthood may operate as a selection factor in friendship as well, and new parents may find themselves on uncertain ground with their childless friends and acquaintances. The day-to-day-at-home isolation that frequently accompanies parenthood, especially motherhood, has been cited as a decidedly negative influence on parental role enactment (Bernard, 1974).

It is interesting then to consider the importance of support systems for people undergoing periods of stress and transition. In his discussion of the capacity of families to cope with transitions, Alastair Bain (1978) hypothesizes that both formal institutional support systems and informal social networks play critical roles in helping families navigate developmental transitions and function productively in new life stages. Several authors (Gladieux, 1978; Fein, 1978; Miller and Newman, 1978) have discussed social support systems as important in reducing tension, in providing information and experienced role models, and in offering reassurance to parents-to-be and to new parents. At the very time that a person's interpersonal relationships may be in flux, due to the introduction of a new and complicated major adult role (parenthood), that person may well be more than usually in need of a stable and relevant supportive network of friends, extended family, and helping institutions.

The question of social networks and support systems deserves consideration with regard to the parent and non-parent groups in the current sample. An initial, if brief, examination reveals that parents and non-parents do not differ significantly on organizational membership, or frequency of visiting neighbors, friends or relatives. There is a tendency for more men and women who are parents to say they are not satisfied with the number of friends they have. All respondents were asked, "Now, think of the friends and relatives you feel free to talk with about your worries and problems or can count on for advice or help--would you say you have many, several, a few, or no such friends and relatives?" Sixty-seven percent of the fathers in contrast to 47 percent of the men without children answered "a few or none." The data for women on this item revealed a strong tendency in the same direction, with 50 percent of the mothers versus 35 percent of the childless women responding "a few or none." This is a startling and serious finding: over half of the mothers and two-thirds of the fathers are reporting a lack of supportive resources at a time in their lives when their new families are requiring extensive input and energy.

Who then is taking care of the parents? As Phyllis Chesler clearly phrases the issue in her question to her unborn child, "Who will mother me, so that I can mother you?"[2] Perhaps people do not feel comfortable asking for advice about parenthood and childrearing. Perhaps, however, what parents need is not only advice but concrete help--help with the constant demands of child care; help with the cleaning and laundry and shopping and cooking; and actual, in-person help with the day-to-day decisions that small children confront their caregivers with. And who is there to offer any of this kind of help? Very often there is no one.

The picture is not utterly desolate, however, since the parents in our sample do not differ from their non-parent counterparts when asked to respond to the following two items:

> No one cares much what happens to me.
> I don't know whom I can count on for help.

The majority of parents do feel cared about and do feel that they know whom they can count on for assistance. My hypothesis is that they are turning to their spouses and immediate families, however, and deriving support from within their small nuclear families--an important and gratifying situation, but one which must surely also be a drain on an already depleted system.

Attitudes about Parenthood. Given the disequilibrium and apparent lack of strong social support during the period of early family formation, how do parents feel about parenthood? It is interesting but not surprising that more childless men and women than parents perceive neutral or negative changes brought to a person's life by having children. When asked how much being a father or mother has led or, in the case of non-parents, would lead to fulfilling the person's most important value, significantly more parents of both sexes than non-parents gave highly positive replies. Eighty-seven percent of the fathers versus 61 percent of the men without children said that parenthood has contributed "a lot or a great deal" to satisfaction of their most important value, while 86 percent of the mothers in contrast to 65 percent of the childless women replied "a lot or a great deal" with regard to value fulfillment and motherhood.

Perhaps social pressure forces parents to respond so positively. Socially acceptable responding probably does not account for all of the parents' reactions, however. Feelings of inadequacy as a parent, problems with children, and negative changes with the advent of offspring are also mentioned, so the pictures parents paint are not totally rosy. Along with the difficulties and stress, the exhaustion and uncertainties, there are positive aspects to parenthood--opportunities for growth and gratification, for exploration and discovery, for satisfaction and fulfillment. Perhaps these data are reflecting the dualities that parenthood involves. These respondents may be telling us that parenthood is a role of great significance and many polarities: a role that is restrictive and expansive, exhausting and rewarding, draining and invigorating.

Public Policy. What then are the implications of these data for public policy? As a nation, we have often adopted a hands-off policy regarding the family. The implications for the family of various legislative, financial, industrial, and medical decisions, for instance, are rarely considered. In many senses, the carefully guarded privacy and impenetrability of the nuclear family cast both children and adults into situations with minimal supports and few resources.

Perhaps this strategy of minimal intervention with regard to families is not the most constructive approach. Should we consider instead what resources the family needs for adaptive role enactment? In the case of the young family, for instance, care for children in the form of drop-in centers, baby-sitting exchanges, and other high quality, consistent child care arrangements is desperately needed. Flextime, parental leaves, part-time employment with reasonable benefits, and child care centers located within work settings encourage parental role enactment by reducing some of the problems that people encounter as they try to fulfill parental and work roles.

Access to information and to support systems, both formal and informal, can reduce some of the isolation and uncertainty which serve only to increase the difficulties which parents face. The availability and use of such family-oriented resources need not diminish parental responsibility or parents' psychological involvement with their children. Rather, such resources may well strengthen the family and support adaptive parental role functioning by reducing some (though certainly not all) of the strains which characterize the early years of parenthood.

Footnotes

1. Douvan, E., Veroff, J. and Kulka, R. *A Study of Modern Living: 1976* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan, Institute for Social Research, 1976).

2. Chesler, Phyllis. *With Child: A Diary of Motherhood* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1979), p. 7.

Bibliography

Bain, A. "The capacity of families to cope with transitions: A theoretical essay." *Human Relations* 31(8) (1978):675-688.

Bernard, J. *The Future of Motherhood.* New York: Dial Press, 1974.

Bram, S. "Through the looking glass: Voluntary childlessness as a mirror for contemporary changes in the meaning of parenthood." In W. B. Miller and L. F. Newman (Eds.), *The First Child and Family Formation.* Chapel Hill, N.C.: Carolina Population Center, 1978.

Breen, D. *The Birth of the First Child.* London: Tavistock Publications, 1975.

Callahan, S. C. *Parenting: Principles and Politics of Parenthood.* Baltimore, Md.: Penguin, 1973.

Chesler, P. *With Child: A Diary of Motherhood.* New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1979.

Duvall, E. M. *Marriage and Family Development.* 4th ed. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1971

Dyer, E. D. "Parenthood as crisis: A Re-Study." *Marriage and Family Living* 25 (1963):196-201.

Fein, R. A. "Consideration of men's experiences and the birth of a first child." In W. B. Miller and L. F. Newman (Eds.), *The First Child and Family Formation.* Chapel Hill, N.C.: Carolina Population Center, 1978.

Feldman, H. "Changes in marriage and parenthood: A methodological design." In E. Peck and J. Senderowitz (Eds.), *Pronatalism: The Myth of Mom and Apple Pie.* New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1974.

Gladieux, J. "Pregnancy--the transition to parenthood: Satisfaction with the pregnancy experience as a function of sex role conceptions, marital relationship, and social network." In W. B. Miller and L. F. Newman (Eds.), *The First Child and Family Formation.* Chapel Hill, N.C.: Carolina Population Center, 1978.

Hobbs, D. F. and Cole, S. "Transition to parenthood: A Decade replication." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 38 (4) (1976):723-731.

Hoffman, L. W. "Effects of the first child on the women's role." In W. B. Miller and L. F. Newman (Eds.), *The First Child and*

Family Formation. Chapel Hill, N.C.: Carolina Population Center, 1978.

Hubert, J. "Belief and reality: Social factors in pregnancy and childbirth." In M. P. M. Richards (Ed.), *The Integration of a Child into a Social World.* London: Cambridge University Press, 1974.

LeMaster, E. E. "Parenthood as crisis." *Marriage and Family Living* 19 (1957):352-355.

McBride, A. B. *The Growth and Development of Mothers.* New York: Harper and Row, 1973.

Miller, W. B. and Newman, L. F. *The First Child and Family Formation.* Chapel Hill, N.C.: Carolina Population Center, 1978.

Rollins, B. C. and Cannon, K. L. "Marital satisfaction over the family life cycle: A Reevaluation." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 30 (1968):26-39.

Rossi, A. "Transition to parenthood." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 36 (1974):294-302.

Ryder, R. G. "Longitudinal data relating marriage satisfaction and having a child." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 35 (1973): 604-606.

Thornton, A. "Children and marital stability." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 39 (1977):531-540.

Wandersman, L. P. "Longitudinal changes in the adjustment to parenthood." Paper presented at the American Psychological Association, Toronto, Canada, 1978.

MEN AT MIDDLE AGE

Lois M. Tamir

Middle age has recently been characterized as a time when the mature adult undergoes a "midlife crisis." It is a time when various stresses come to the forefront of adult life: adolescent children present new family problems,[1] health begins to decline,[2] careers reach their turning point,[3] and mortality becomes a very real issue.[4] No longer is life dated simply from time of birth; instead, the middle aged adult begins to view life in terms of time left to live.[5]

While middle age is an important and intriguing time in adult development for both men and women, for the purposes of the present research only the male adult was studied. For one reason, research and literature to date, sparse as it is, deals mainly with men and provides at least a starting point for careful testing and analysis of midlife change. A second reason is that most research on life span development indicates that men and women follow different paths of adult development [6] and so should be studied separately. A third reason is that if there is a "midlife crisis," the middle aged male would be more likely to feel it acutely, since he has heretofore been less in touch with his deepest feelings than women of similar age.[7]

The age range of 40 to 49 years was chosen as the site for the exploration of midlife changes; research literature on the topic of adult life changes nearly always indicates that if a transition occurs, it is during the decade of the forties.[8] Most literature concerning midlife change points to extensive self reflection and existential questioning by the individual. One European study, for example, made nearly 50 years ago, found that men aged 45-48 years began to display transitory interests, increased loneliness, and retrospection.[9]

The Sample. National survey data, collected in 1976 in an interview entitled "A Study of Modern Living," [10] have provided the unique opportunity to observe on a national level whether, in fact, men in their forties differ from men at other ages. Differences were examined in the areas of psychological well being, work, and the family.

Work was chosen as a topic of concern because men's identities are so intricately tied to their occupations. During middle age career assessment by the man is likely to take place.[11] By the time the man has reached his forties, if he has not accomplished his goals, there is little chance to improve; and if his dream of success has been reached, he must decide if he actually likes it, and if it was worth the sacrifices along the way.

Family was chosen as a topic of conern, because marriage is expected to undergo change during middle age. If partners are changing, so is the relationship, which is either solidifying further, of falling apart. Often a middle-aged wife begins to wish to achieve in the world outside the home at the very point where the middle aged husband wishes for more wifely affection. This difference can be cause for conflict, or for establishing a new understanding.

In the 1976 survey, well being, work and the family were examined among men who were married and with families at the time of their interviews. Men ranging from ages 25 to 69 years were studied, with special focus on the midlife group of 40 to 49 years for the purpose of the present research. In addition, the sample of men was divided into high education (meaning some college education or less) and low education (meaning high school education or less) groups, in order to see if education as an indicator of social class makes a difference in the experience of middle age.

Study Results: Well Being. The men were asked a series of questions which formed a composite scale of depression, including such items as whether the respondent feels his life is interesting, and whether he feels hopeful about the future. The data indicated that men within the high education group are significantly more depressed in their late forties than men at any other age, young or old.

The men were also asked a series of questions which formed a composite scale of self esteem, including such items as whether the respondent thinks of himself as a person of worth, and feels good about himself. On this measure the data indicated that men within the lower education group display lower self esteem in the late forties than men at most other ages.

Clearly, men appear to display some degree of stress during their late forties, a stress which diminishes once the fifties are reached.

A series of questions concerning actual symptoms of psychological stress were asked of respondents. Several scales were constructed from these lists of questions about symptoms, based upon items which indicated similar forms of stress, including scales of drinking problems and of psychological immobilization.

Men in the high education group display significantly more drinking problems in their late forties than men of any other age group. Men in this group (high education) also experience more symptoms of immobilization: they have more difficulty "getting going"; they are more apt to experience sweaty clammy hands and more apt to have nightmares than men of any other age group.

Overall, therefore, middle aged men, and in particular those with more education, experience and express more stress in their late forties than men who are younger or older than themselves. These data suggest that the forties may in fact be a significant and difficult period in the lives of adult men.

Work. Because the world of work is a major sphere in the life of the male adult, clues were sought as to what sort of changes the middle aged male is experiencing. The relationships between various aspects of work were analyzed for middle aged men and compared with those younger and older.

One striking finding was that for middle aged men more than for any other age group, the social and interpersonal aspect of the job setting begins to play a major role in job satisfaction. Among men with higher education especially the opportunity to talk with others on the job is more highly and significantly related to job interest and job satisfaction than among men at any other age. Among both high and lower education groups, the degree to which affiliation is chosen as a major personal motive at work is also more highly and significantly related to job interest among the middle agers.

It may be that the importance of talking to others on the job reflects not only increased social awareness, but it may also now encompass a mentor-protege relationship. The mature, accomplished, middle aged man may now be deriving more satisfaction at work from guiding other, younger men as they begin to work themselves up the ladder of success.

Another striking finding was that for men at middle age and especially for those with higher education--interest in work and job satisfaction contribute significantly less to well being and life satisfaction than at any other time in life. Even if the middle aged man enjoys his work and derives great satisfaction from it, it contributes relatively little to his overall feelings of self-esteem and happiness. This diminishing sense of personal fulfillment through work is most likely due to the dilemma described earlier. Job performance and occupational level peak in middle age, and if goals have not been reached by that time, there is little chance for future success. If on the other hand, success has been achieved the middle aged man may not find that it is as glorious as was his struggle to the top. Hence, a psychological disengagement from work and a search for new sources of fulfillment takes place.

Marriage. If work satisfaction has less impact on the total well-being of the middle aged man, marital happiness has a greater role in his personal well being. Marital happiness is more highly related to general happiness, life satisfaction, depression, self esteem--and even to drinking problems--of the middle aged man than of those younger or older than himself.

Conclusions. The most striking aspect of middle age derived from this research is the reversal of correlates of life satisfaction and well being. It appears, overall, that the social, interpersonal strivings of men are awakened in middle age. Work is more satisfying when there are others to talk with, and most likely with others who can be guided and coached. Yet work does not contribute to ultimate well being in middle age. Instead, it is the close interpersonal relationship encompassed in marriage which holds the key to happiness for the middle aged man.

This situation can present a burden to the wife of the middle aged husband, who is likely to be placed in a position of coordinating her own personal development and change with the changes in her spouse. This aspect of middle age certainly merits further intensive study.

The overall pattern of results indicate that the middle aged man is at a turning point in life. He appears to be rethinking his sense of personal commitments and goals, and appears to be relying most strongly upon his marriage partner. It is important to note, however, that the majority of these findings hold for the educated middle aged male more than for the less educated man. This result may reflect a greater willingness of the man with higher education to disclose his self doubts and personal introspections. It may be more acceptable to him and his peers to admit to symptoms of depression and anxiety, aspects of middle age actually experienced by all. On the other hand, perhaps it is only the man with more education who experiences midlife troubles. Having achieved the "American Dream" of money, success, and security, he has the luxury of sitting back and scrutinizing his life, his accomplishments, and his goals, a scrutiny that may lead to personal growth at the expense of temporary psychological pain. More intensive interview data will be needed to determine the roots of these education group differences.

Overall, the middle age period of life may not merit the all-encompassing title of "midlife crisis," but it certainly does exhibit the markings of an intensive personal transition for the adult male. For some men the crisis leads to depression and a variety of symptoms of stress, although they appear short-lived.

After the struggle of rethinking their commitments, priorities, and goals of life, a better understanding of themselves and of their relations with the world and with others should be the likely outcome for middle aged men. The results of this study indicate that once the forties decade of life has passed, its stresses and strains appear to diminish, so that adult life can proceed along another new path of development.

FOOTNOTES

1. D. C. Borland. "Research on Middle Age: An Assessment." *The Gerontologist* (1978, 18, 379-386); O. G. Brim Jr.,"Theories of the Male Mid-life Crisis," *The Counseling Psychologist* (1976, 6, 2-9); B. Fried, *The Middle-Age Crisis* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976); G. E. Vaillant, *Adaptation to Life* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1977)
2. Borland.
3. Borland; Brim; A. J. Jaffe, "The Middle Years: Neither too Young nor too old," special issue of *Industrial Gerontology* (Washington D.C.: National Council on Aging, 1971); D. J. Levinson, *The Seasons of a Man's Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978); T. F. Mayer, "Middle age and Occupational Process: An Empirical Essay," *Sociological Symposium* (1969, 3, 89-106).
4. E. Jaques, "Death, and the Mid-Life Crisis," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* (1965, 46, 502-514).
5. B. L. Neugarten, Adult Personality: Towards a Psychology of the Life Cycle. In B. L. Neugarten (Ed.) *Middle Age and Aging* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).
6. M. F. Lowenthal, M. Thurnher & D. Chiriboga, *Four States of Life* (San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 1975): H. S. Maas & J. A. Kuypers, *From 30 to 70* (San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 1974); Neugarten.
7. M. F. Lowenthal & B. Robinson, Social Networks and Isolation. In R. H. Binstock & E. Shanas (Eds.), *Handbook of Aging and The Social Sciences* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1976).
8. E. Frenkel-Brunswik, "Adjustments and Reorientation in the course of the Life Span." in B. L. Neugarten (Ed.) *Middle Age and Aging* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968); R. L. Gould, "The Phases of Adult Life: A Study in

Developmental Psychology," *American Journal of Psychiatry* (1972, 129, 521-531); Levinson.

9. Frenkel-Brunswik.

10. E. Douvan, J. Veroff, & R. Kulka, *A Study of Modern Living: 1976* (University of Michigan: Institute for Social Research, 1976).

11. Brimm; Jaffe; Levinson.

12. Brim; Mayer; D. Gutman, "Parenthood: A Key to the Comparative Study of the Life Cycle," in N. Datan & L. H. Ginsberg (Eds.), *Life-Span Developmental Psychology: Normative Life Crises* (New York: Academic Press, 1975); M. F. Lowenthal & L. Weiss, "Intimacy and Crises in Adulthood," *The Counseling Psychologist* (1976, 6, 10-15).

EMPTYING THE NEST: WOMEN IN THE LAUNCHING STAGE

Erica Serlin

Does the transition to postparental life--the empty nest--constitute a developmental crisis in the family life cycle? Commentaries in recent years tend to be confusing and inconsistent. Some researchers, relying primarily on anecdotal evidence, results from clinical studies and small-scale interview studies of primarily middle class respondents, warn that this period severely strains the individual adult as well as the marital relationship (Bart, 1971; Blood and Wolfe, 1960; Fried, 1967; Gould, 1972; Levinson, 1978; Rollins and Feldman, 1970; Sheehy, 1976). Arguments for this position point to the multi-faceted changes facing parents at this time: the climacteric with its associated physiological and psychological manifestations, confrontation with occupational limitations and disappointments, the growing realization of aging and of the finiteness of life, and the disruption of interpersonal relationships resulting from the children's departure. At the other extreme is a school of thought, drawing mainly on survey research, which suggests that this is a period of lessened responsibility and increased leisure; it may be a time when the marital relationship is reinforced with renewed vigor (Axelson, 1960; Campbell, 1974; Deutscher, 1959; Neugarten, 1968; Rubin, 1978).

Investigation of the later stages of the family life cycle has become increasingly important as a growing percentage of our population finds itself middle-aged and older, with active parenting no longer a major responsibility.

Sample Studied. To explore this topic as well as related areas of concern, the investigator utilized the data set from the 1976 Survey of Modern Living (Douvan, Kulka, Veroff, 1977), in which 2,264 men and women, representing the demographic characteristics of the national population, were intensively interviewed. From the total sample a subsample of 384 respondents was drawn for the present exploratory investigation. Included are all individuals who range in age from 40 to 59, are currently married, have never been previously married, and have had at least one child. Comparisons were then made among the parental group (N=130), a launching stage group, operationally defined to include all respondents with at least one child living at home and one away from home (N-152), and a postparental group (N=102).

Data Analysis. First, the present investigation attempted to identify whether the launching stage differs from the parental and postparental stages. Most fundamentally, demographic comparisons among the groups were made. Next, analyses were performed to determine whether the role involvement and evaluation of middle-aged individuals in the launching stage differs markedly from that of respondents in the same age range who either have all their children still living at home or none of their children at home. Is it true that this stage and mid-life period in general are viewed as a time of crisis? Subjective evaluations of happiness and satisfaction with major life roles as well as more objective indices of psychological and physical well-being were examined to address this question. Finally, the focus of the study was shifted to a more intensive examination of launching stage respondents to answer the following question: what variables and resources can be identified for launching stage respondents (if any) that serve to ease the transition to postparental life?

Results. For purposes of this presentation, results found for women will be emphasized. Findings for men will be discussed only when a comparison between the two sexes is especially striking or illuminating. Forty-four percent (N-57) of the parental respondents, 53 percent (N=81) of the launching respondents, and 65 percent (N=66) of those in the postparental group are women.

Demographic Characteristics. Statistical analyses demonstrate that the three groups--parental, launching, and postparental--differ significantly in numerous ways. However, one of these findings is especially important for the understanding of statistical procedures used throughout the study and for later results. An analysis of variance indicates a significant age effect, F (2, 381)= 85.57, $p < .001$. The means of the parental, launching stage, and postparental groups are 45.1, 50.2, and 53.4 years, respectively. Although age is a variable that was partially controlled by initial selection procedures, statistical measures were employed when appropriate to ensure that differences among the three groups could not be attributed simply to differences in the mean ages of the group members that would occur as a predictable accompaniment to parenting stage.

Respondents' Perceptions of Current Happiness and Unhappiness. After analyzing the demographic characteristics of the three family life cycle stages, the investigator proceeded to examine subjective experiences of happiness and unhappiness as reported by parental, launching, and postparental respondents. An analysis of variance did not indicate a significant stage effect for the current happiness index (which essentially asked, "How would you say things are these days?"). It seems that individuals in the launching stage do not report this as a particularly unhappy period and in fact view themselves on the whole as relatively happy with their lives.

Sources of current happiness and unhappiness were also explored. It seems that sources of happiness do not vary significantly by stages, and that children constitute a major source of happiness during all three stages, especially for women. However, stage was found to have a significant effect in regard to the sources of unhappiness reported by women, $\underline{x}^2$ (10) = 11.23 $p < .01$. A higher percentage of women report problems with offspring, including complaints concerning the choice of mate or friends, school performance, and use of drugs. This finding is the only indication that family-related concerns are more salient during the launching stage period, and it may indirectly reflect some parental opposition to the growing independence displayed by maturing offspring. Responses to several other indices pertaining to happiness and unhappiness were also examined, and none were found to differ significantly among the three groups.

In summarizing the data, it is clear that family life cycle stage, as operationalized for this study, does not bear a strong relation to respondents' subjective evaluations of their current happiness.

Marriage. Finding a satisfactory way to function in a family that will soon consist once again of only the marital dyad has been emphasized as the major developmental task to be accomplished by launching stage individuals. Although the research efforts to date have hardly been unequivocal, there is scattered evidence that the launching of children initially strains the marital relationship, but is followed by further adjustment and increased satisfaction in the postparental years. (Blood and Wolfe, 1960; Lowenthal et al, 1975; Rollins and Feldman, 1970).

How do the subjects of the current study rate their marital satisfaction? Do launching stage respondents report more or different kinds of problems and dissatisfactions than respondents in the parental or postparental groups?

In summary, both the salience of the marital role and a high degree of satisfaction with this role were demonstrated for all three groups of middle-aged Americans. Neither were significant stage differences found for marital satisfaction, dissatisfaction, feelings of inadequacy, sources of happiness and unhappiness, or a sense of togetherness, or perceived marital interdependence. It seems that launching stage women do not report concerns regarding their marriages more frequently or more strongly than do women in the other two groups. This is true, despite the prevalent notion that the launching of children leaves women in a vulnerable position, expecting and needing more from their husbands at exactly the time that career demands limit the amount of energy most middle-aged men can channel into their marriages.

Parenthood. Do launching stage women experience difficulty releasing maturing adolescent and young adult offspring, as evidenced either by a decline in parental satisfaction during this period or by reports of specific problems inherent in this process? Alternatively, does the anticipation of the transition to postparental life result in increased satisfaction with the parental role? Actually parental satisfaction is extremely high for respondents in all three stages, as measured by an item which asked directly, "How much satisfaction have you gotten out of being a (father/mother)?" An analysis of variance did not yield a significant stage effect for this variable.

Consistently high parental satisfaction may simply indicate that people continue to enjoy being parents--even though the content and definition of that role may change over time. During the later phases of parenting, active guidance and caretaking may no longer be central, but the sources of satisfaction may shift as parents begin to view their own offspring as independent adults.

Several other aspects of the parental role, including the impact that the advent of this role has on the marital role, sources and frequency of problems and feelings of parental inadequacy, and the salience of the parental role were also not shown to differ significantly by stage. In summary, there is little evidence from this study to indicate that launching stage women are less happy with their role as parents. Although the sources of parental satisfaction and dissatisfaction may change with gradual disengagement from active parenting responsibilities, parenthood continues to be an important role throughout these three stages of the family life cycle and one that carries with it considerable satisfaction.

Still it is important to remember the methodological limitations inherent in any measure which attempts to assess parental satisfaction or the importance of the parental role directly. It may still not be permissible to acknowledge negative feelings about parenthood, especially in regard to the launching of children, an event which, at least normatively, is considered a natural and desirable outcome of parenting. However, with the proliferation during recent years of both popular and professional writing which lends credence to the critical nature of the empty nest, especially for women, the reverse problem may be true. Some of the most recent findings indicate that in general middle-aged individuals anticipate the postparental years with relief and pleasure, and that women in particular may distrust their own positive feelings and experience obligatory twinges of guilt that "they do not feel badly enough!" (Rubin, 1979).

Finally, there is a growing body of evidence that parental satisfaction may be more seriously impaired when children do not develop according to the schedule anticipated by parents, and when launching does not occur "on time" (Lowenthal and Chiriboga, 1972; Spense and Lonner, 1971). In other words, crises may occur in those families where children prolong their dependent status beyond parental expectations.

Work. The importance of the work role, especially for men, has been stressed in much of the literature dealing with middle age (e.g. Levinson, 1978). Consequently, particularly relevant aspects of this role were explored as part of the present investigation. To begin with, the employment status of respondents in the parental, launching, and postparental groups was compared. Although the results are not significant for women, it is clear that a somewhat higher percentage of launching stage women are working full-time and a lower percentage are housewives than in the other two groups. A majority of the housewives, regardless of which stage they belong to, have been previously employed (ranging from 82 to 88 percent). Most important appears to be the fact that both men and women consider family-related roles to be more salient to them than the work role, even when employed full-time.

Motives and Values. The struggle to achieve a sense of generativity is considered by many to be the central developmental task of mid-life. Considerable personality shifts have been said to occur as a part of this process, with women becoming less affiliative and more in touch with aggressive, competitive urges. How do parental, launching, and postparental women compare in terms of their needs for affiliation, achievement and power?

One-way analyses of variance did not indicate a significant stage effect for either power motivation or for the need for affiliation. Motives were assessed by a composite index made up of forced choice items.

Apparently the presence or absence of children in the home does not affect the perceptions of these motives as reported by middle-aged Americans. Neither did achievement motivation differ significantly by stage for women, although a trend was apparent in which the launching stage women reported the highest achievement motivation. As children begin to leave home and opportunities become available to achieve generativity in additional ways, perhaps the need for achievement becomes increasingly salient. The emergence of this trend indicates the importance of considering whether sufficient opportunities are currently provided by our society to meet this increased need--especially for women who wish to return to school or work during the postparental years.

Psychological and Physical Indices of Stress and Adjustment. The final comparison made between groups entailed an examination of psychological and physical measure of well-being and adjustment. In a sense this part of the study can be viewed as a methodological check. Do the same respondents indicate distress during the launching, and objective measures of stress that they are unwilling to acknowledge, when asked directly to evaluate their general happiness and satisfaction with major life roles?

Looking first at especially relevant measures of psychological health, it was found that feelings of self-esteem and personal efficacy are constant and relatively high across the three stages for both men and women. Indices assessing psychological problems yielded analogous results. There were no significant stage effects found for psychological anxiety, immobilization, social isolation, or problem drinking for either sex. More importantly, depression, the one psychological problem most often associated with mid-life and often directly attributed for women to parental role loss, was not found to differ significantly by stage when a one-way analysis of variance was performed.

Stage Comparisons: Is there an empty nest crisis? Although family life cycle stage was found to influence a few of the variables which were examined, essentially no evidence was obtained from the current study to indicate that launching stage women subjectively evaluate this life stage as a crisis, or that they experience greater unhappiness or more adjustment difficulties than do women in the parental or postparental groups. In general, these groups of middle-aged Americans certainly appear to describe and evaluate their lives in ways that resemble each other more than they differ.

Several explanations are possible for the relative absence of stage differences, and both methodological and theoretical reasons need to be considered. First, other demographic characteristics may serve as better predictors of reported levels of satisfaction and adjustment. Indeed, using a variety of analysis strategies, it was found that age accounted for a far greater percentage of the variance in the dependent measures of satisfaction and adjustment than did parenting stage, and that sex was significantly related to these dependent measures most frequently. (The reader is reminded that these findings have been reported in Serlin, 1978.) However, despite the fact that a few results were significantly related to age, no data could be marshalled to support the existence of a midlife crisis as documented in some of the literature (Fried, 1967; Gould, 1972; Levinson, 1978; Neugarten, 1964; Sheehy, 1976).

Second, certain definitional problems must be considered. Any operational definition of family life cycle stage categories has accompanying limitations. Perhaps the parenting stage categories utilized for this study were too broadly defined. An even more fundamental problem is inherent in the general definition of parenting stage or family life cycle stage. For purposes of simplicity and clarity, stage was isolated from the context of age when in reality it is the combination of interaction of age and parental status which produces a meaningful family life cycle construct. In addition, the very notion of a family developmental crisis implies that the stresses occurring at the individual, interpersonal, and systemic levels be considered simultaneously. Necessarily, this study focused on the individual middle-aged respondent and ignored the concomitant experiences and reactions of the respondent's spouse and children.

The current study could also be criticized from another methodological standpoint. The point has been made that it may currently not be permissible to acknowledge difficulty with normative transitions, and that survey methodology accentuates this tendency. Although it is important to acknowledge the methodological limitations inherent in any study, it is also important to note that survey methodology does correct for the biases of an exclusively clinical approach. It seems likely that conclusions about the prevalence of a crisis around the time of the mid-life period, drawn from small, primarily middle-class samples or from clinic populations, have been over-generalized. Judging from the results of the current study, respondents selected to be representative of the total national population of middle-aged women do not consider the launching stage or the mid-life period to be a particularly troubling time, and, in fact, appear to be relatively satisfied with their lives.

In order to test the relative importance of a normative developmental transition in the lives of middle-aged Americans, reports of satisfaction and adjustment for the entire sample of 40- to 59-year-old individuals selected for the current investigation were compared with those of all other 40- to 59-year-olds who responded to the Survey of Modern Living. This latter group was comprised of all respondents who were single, divorced, widowed, remarried, or who were married but had never had children (N=300). This group exhibits more symptoms and reports significantly less satisfaction with their lives than does the sample of respondents chosen for this study (Serlin, 1979, p. 188).

It seems that the "real"--or more obvious--crisis exists for those people whose life situations either prevent the opportunity to experience normative developmental transitions, such as the launching of children, or whose current life situation is inherently more stressful than that of individuals in the study sample.

Despite the fact that normative family cycle transitions, as exemplified by the launching of children, may not compare in magnitude to the adjustment issues faced by those who occupy roles less consonant with social expectations, certain activities and resources may be differentially related to happiness and psychological adjustment in the launching stage than in either the parental or postparental periods. In other words, stage may have a conditioning effect on people's lives. This hypothesis will be explored further in the following section.

Relationship Between Selected Variables and Happiness, Satisfaction, and Adjustment for Launching Stage Respondents. Moving from a between-group to a within-group focus, I will now focus on a few of the resources which were shown to have significant relationships to the measures of current happiness, marital satisfaction, parental satisfaction, self-esteem, and depression that were unique to launching stage women and, consequently, serve to distinguish this group of respondents from the parental and postparental groups. The dependent measures specified above were chosen because they have been judged to tap particularly salient dimensions of satisfaction and adjustment during this period.

Selected Marital Variables. Since the family customarily shrinks to its original dyadic form at the culmination of the launching stage, the importance of a satisfactory marital relationship during this period cannot be contested. Are there particular attributes or aspects of the marital role which characterize launching stage respondents who evaluate their lives and marriages positively during this stage?

Sources of marital happiness and unhappiness were not shown to bear a significant relationship either to marital satisfaction or to current happiness. However, in contrast, the correlational association between marital role salience (as measured by the degree to which being married has led to the respondent's most important value) and current happiness was highly significant for launching stage women ($r = .39$, $p < .001$). This relationship did not hold for respondents in the other two stages. This finding indicates that the centrality of the marital role can be viewed as an important resource in terms of respondent well-being during the launching stage. It is interesting to note that this variable is most significant during the transition to postparental life, when important family roles are in the process of redefinition. It is considerably less important when all children have left home and presumably the marital relationship has been solidly re-established; it is the least important at a time when all children are still in the parental home.

The correlational association between marital role salience and marital satisfaction is highly significant for both launching women ($r = .56$, p . $.001$) and postparental women ($r = .38$, $p < .01$). Still, this relationship is strongest for launching respondents. Once again it is clear that valuing marriage highly is especially important during the stage of the life cycle when children are in the process of leaving home. A significant association between role preference and marital satisfaction measures also supports this conclusion, with women who report preferring the spouse role also rating their marital satisfaction most highly (H (3) = 10 84, $p <$ .01).

Employment Status. Currently, increasing numbers of women are entering the labor force for economic, social, and personal reasons. What is the impact of employment on satisfaction and adjustment for middle-aged women? Does employment provide a source of alternative gratification that serves to ease the transition to post-parental life?

There were no significant differences among employment status categories (which included full-time, part-time, housewife, disabled, unemployed, and retired) for current happiness, marital satisfaction, parental satisfaction, or depression. However, employment status did have an almost significant effect on self-esteem for launching stage women when housewives (N=37) were compared with full-time workers (N=36). Because the data did not meet the homogeneity of variance assumption, the Kruskal-Wallis test of averaged ranks was computed, yielding an $\underline{H}$ (1) of 3.62, $p < .06$. Reports of self-esteem were higher for women who were employed full-time than for those who identified themselves as full-time housewives. This result was not found for respondents in the parental or postparental groups. Since so few women either worked part-time or were unemployed, disabled, or retired, these groups were simply excluded from the analysis. It seems likely that employment can provide an especially important source of gratification and esteem for women during the time when the parental role is undergoing a process of redefinition and beginning to occupy a less central place in the role cluster.

This issue may be particularly salient for the generation of women under study. In general, women who are now in their late forties and early fifties were married when the feminine mystique was at its height and idealized visions of family life were pervasive. These women are currently being confronted by a radical shift in values. It is true that new opportunities are increasingly available to women. However, in addition to a sense of freedom, these opportunities can create pressure and conflict when the traditional values to which most middle-aged women have been committed are now questioned and even dismissed contemptuously by many younger women. Some middle-aged women have responded to this challenge by taking advantage of expanded opportunities in the labor market and educational system. Others have proudly reaffirmed the values which so strongly influenced their socialization as young adults. However, still others--due to a lack of relevant training, an inability to incorporate new values, or a multiplicity of other factors--suffer vague feelings of discontent, acknowledging increased achievement needs but unable to find appropriate channels for their expression.

Motives. Finally, affiliation, achievement, and power motivation were chosen as illustrations of psychological characteristics that might well be related to subjective evaluations of well-being for launching stage respondents. Numerous authors have written about the shifts in motivation in the direction of sex-role convergence that supposedly occur for men and women during mid-life (Levinson, 1978; Livson, 1978; Lowenthal et al. 1975; Neugarten et al., 1964; Sheehy, 1976). Is there any evidence from the current study that these motives are significantly associated with happiness and adjustment for launching stage women, or that such relationships differentiate the launching stage from the parental or postparental stages?

The need for affiliation is not significantly correlated with current happiness, marital satisfaction, parental satisfaction, or self-esteem for launching stage women. However, the need for affiliation is positively associated with the amount of reported depression for these women ($\underline{r} = .34$, $p < .01$), while this need is negatively correlated with depression for postparental women ($\underline{r} = -.32$, $p < .05$). Interestingly, no significant relationships were found for parental women or for men at any stage.

It is certainly intriguing to speculate as to why this variable should have such a different impact for women in the launching stage than it does for those in the other two groups. Perhaps a high need for affiliation or sociability is dysfunctional during the launching stage if it indicates a strong desire that needs for interpersonal closeness be met within the parent-child relationship. The women who account for this finding might be those who have difficulty gratifying affiliative needs within the marital relationship, or who have few other social supports available. It seems that for the other two groups of respondents, the need for affiliation is associated with lower ratings of depression, suggesting that such women are finding sufficient opportunities to fulfill this need. Unfortunately it is unclear how much of this need is met via the relationship with one's spouse, one's children, or still other interpersonal relationships.

Next, the relationship between achievement motivation and the same dependent measures was analyzed. Achievement motivation is not significantly correlated with reports of current happiness, marital satisfaction, parental satisfaction, or self-esteem for launching stage women. However, the need for achievement is significantly associated with depression for launching stage women ($\underline{r} = -.28$, $p < .05$). In contrast to the findings for affiliation motivation, the need for achievement is negatively related to depression. The reverse appears to be true for postparental women ($\underline{r} = .35$, $p < .05$). Once again the association did not emerge as significant for either parental women or for men at any stage. Perhaps achievement motivation serves as a resource during the launching stage, which allows women to loosen ties with departing children and invest energy in other pursuits. However, the positive correlation between achievement motivation and depression for postparental women may indicate that, by this stage, the realization that insufficient opportunities exist to meet these needs may result in feelings of disillusionment and depression. The results for affiliation and achievement motivation may indicate that women who report needs consonant with a non-traditional sex-role orientation may fare better during the period when children are leaving home. This finding supports the conclusion of both Lowenthal (1975) and Livson (1978) that personal attributes conventionally considered masculine can serve as significant mediators between stress and well-being for at least some pre-empty nest and postparental women.

Summary and Conclusions. This portion of the investigation was designed to identify some of the variables that might either positively or negatively influence subjective evaluations of well-being for launching stage respondents, but would not demonstrate the same predictive power for the parental or postparental women.

Certain factors clearly carry special significance in relation to reports of well-being for launching stage individuals. However, one caveat must be mentioned. It is important to recognize that no single factor bore a significant relationship to all dependent measures. This finding probably indicates that well-being is far from a unidimensional construct, and people may be content with certain aspects of their lives and not with others. In addition, since no factor predicted to positive reports for all indices of happiness and adjustment, it is probably safe to conclude that no clear-cut blueprint for the resolution of stage-specific tasks and "successful adaptation" during this period exists. Different resources are likely to be weighted differently for different kinds of individuals and families, as has been suggested by other authors (Lowenthal et al., 1975; Sussman, 1960).

Clinical and Policy Implications. Despite these cautions several implications for clinical practice and public policy can be drawn from the results found for launching stage respondents. First, counselors and therapists need to understand the developmental changes that occur in middle-age and the needs that accompany this stage of the life cycle. Training for helping professionals is sorely needed which combats age stereotyping and realistically helps the middle-aged client deal with the inevitable role transformations that occur during this period.

In addition to providing short-term help to normal middle-aged adults, knowledge concerning which individuals are likely to have particular difficulty with this developmental transition can aid in preventive mental health programming. Short term, focused support groups and workshops, as well as marital therapy and enrichment, should aid individuals experiencing marital problems in developing appropriate interpersonal skills and in exchanging problem-solving strategies.

Finally, institutional changes need to be made in order to provide opportunities that challenge the increasing number of men and women who wish to make mid-life career changes or who want more for themselves than comfort and security during the postparental years. In light of the resurgance of achievement needs documented for women (Lowenthal, 1975; Neugarten and Guttman, 1964) and of the suggestive association between full-time employment and self-esteem, it becomes clear that innovative approaches are needed to provide women with challenging ways to enter or to re-enter the labor force. An increasing number of centers for the continuing education of women are becoming established to upgrade the educational and occupational skills of older women as well as to meet the personal needs of these women. Colleges and universities offering such programs must continue to adopt more flexibility in order to accommodate individual differences.

In a similar manner, utilizing the family life cycle stage construct may help us predict what types of individuals and families are likely to experience any one period as especially gratifying or particularly difficult. Even though developmental transitions may not be generally experienced as times of crises, such information can have important implications for designing both clinical interventions and public policy strategies effectively designed to meet people's needs as they progress through the family life cycle.

Bibliography

Astin, H.S. "Continuing Education and the Development of Adult Women." *The Counseling Psychologist* 6(1)(1976): 55-60.

Axelson, L. "Personal Adjustment in the Postparental Period." *Marriage and Family Living* 22(1960): 66-68.

Bart, P. "Depression in Middle-aged Women." In V. Gornick and Moran (Eds.), *Woman in Sexist Society*. New York: Basic Books, 1971.

Baruch, R. and Barnet. "Women in the Second Half of Life." Paper presented at the Primary Prevention of Psychopathology Conference, University of Vermont, Burlington, June 21-24, 1978.

Bell, R. and Wolfe, D. *Husbands and Wives*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press of Glencoe, 1960.

Booknek, G. " Davelopmental Approach to Counseling Adults." *The Counseling Psychologist* 6(1)(1976): 37-40.

Brim, O.G. "Theories of the Male Mid-life Crisis." *The Counseling Psychologist* 6(1)(1976): 2-9.

Burr, W.R. "Satisfaction with Various Aspects of Marriage over the Life Cycle: A Random Middle Class Sample." *Marriage and the Family* 32(1970): 29-37.

Chilman, C. "Families in Development at Mid-stage of the Family Life Cycle." *The Family Coordinator* 17(1968): 297-313.

Deutscher, I. *Married Life in the Middle Years*. Kansas City, Mo.: Comm. Studies, 1959.

Deutscher, I. "The Quality of Postparental Life: Definitions of the Situation." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* (February 1964): 52-59.

Fried, B. *The Middle-Aged Crisis.* New York: Harper & Row, 1967.

Gould, R. "The Phases of Adult Life: A Study in Developmental Psychology." *American Journal of Psychiatry* 5(1972): 521-531.

Harrison, L.E. and Entine, A.D. "Existing Programs and Emerging Strategies." *The Counseling Psychologist* 6(1)(1976); 45-49.

Jacques, E. "Death and the Mid-life Crisis." *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 46(1965): 502-514.

Levinson, D., Darrow, C.N., Klein, E.B., Levinson, M.H., and McKee, B. *The Seasons of a Man's Life.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978.

Livson, F.B. "Personality Development of Men and Women in the Middle Years." Paper presented at the Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Washington, D.C., February 12-17, 1978.

Lowenthal, M.F. and Chiriboga, D. "Transition to the Empty Nest: Crisis, Challenge, or Relief?" *Archives of General Psychiatry* 26(1972); 8-14.

Lowenthal, M.F., et al. *Four Stages of Life.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1975.

Neugarten, et al. *Personality in Middle and Late Life.* New York: Atherton Press, 1964.

Neugarten, et al. "Women's Attitudes Toward the Menopause." In B. Neugarten (Ed.), *Middle Age and Aging.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Neugarten, B.L. "Adaptation and the Life Cycle." *The Counseling Psychologist* 6(1)(1976): 16-20.

Peterson, J. *Married Life in the Middle Years.* New York: Associated Press, 1968.

Rollins, B. and Cannon, K. "Marital Satisfaction over the Family Life Cycle." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* (Feb. 1970): 20-28.

Rollins, B. and Feldman, H. "Marital Satisfaction over the Family Life Cycle." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* (Feb. 1970): 20-28.

Rose, A. "Factors Associated with the Life Satisfaction of Middle-class, Middle-aged Persons." *Marriage and Family Living* (Feb. 1955): 15-23.

Rubin, L. *Women of a Certain Age: The Mid-life Search for Self.* New York: Harper & Row, 1979.

Schlossberg, N.K. "The Case for Counseling Adults." *The Counseling Psychologist* 6(1)(1976): 33-39.

Serlin, E. "Emptying the Nest: Is the Launching Stage a Developmental Crisis in the Family Life Cycle?" Unpublished dissertation, University of Michigan, 1979.

Sheehy, G. *Passages.* New York: E.P. Dutton, 1976.

Spense, D. and Lonner, T. "The Empty Nest: A Transition within Motherhood." *The Family Coordinator* 20(1971): 369-375.

MAJOR EVENTS IN THE LIVES OF MEN AND WOMEN

Greg J. Duncan

One year ago, Jim Morgan and I attended a meeting of the Social Science Research Council's "Committee on Life-Course Perspectives on Middle and Old Age," chaired (at that time) by Matilda White Riley. We were asked to describe the Panel Study of Income Dynamics project that we manage and to discuss the ways in which data from that project could be used in life-course analysis.

For those of you unfamiliar with that study, let me take a minute to describe it to you. It began in 1968 with a representative sample of 5,000 families, and every year since then we have located and interviewed as many of those families as we can find and persuade to talk with us. In contrast to some of the large longitudinal studies directed by the Parnes group at Ohio State, we follow *families* and not individuals. Children who split off from parental homes and form new families replace those lost by death and thus we continue to have a representative sample of families each year.

I would like to describe some of the life course analysis we have done in the past year with those data--an analysis still very incomplete.

Our annual questionnaires produce data on a large number of economic and demographic events, gathered from a sample of individuals that is representative of the population as a whole. The events and the subgroups of the population for whom they are measured, are shown in Table 1. The events are listed in the first column of that table and the different sub-groups form the other columns. Since families change composition so frequently, we found it most convenient to classify individuals according to their relationship to the head of the households in the first year of the study, 1968. The numbers in the table are Tau B's, which range from -1 to +1 and show the direction and extent of association between the frequency of events and the age of the individual. Thus the first entry in the table, -.138, indicates that remarriages are somewhat more frequent among initially married young men than initially married older men.

Over time survey research provides some unintended insights into social customs and conventions. Karen Mason once reported that in 1965 Gallup actually asked the following question, "Would you vote for a woman for President if she were qualified in every other way?" In 1968 we followed social custom and designated the husband in husband-wife families as the "head" of the household and, with the exception of one year (1976), we have continued to interview him only. Female heads of households, of course, responded for themselves. As a result, we have much more information on the life events of the men in our sample than on the women. The blanks in that first table indicate instances where events could not be constructed from the data for a particular subgroup of individuals.

The data provide measures of a wide variety of events, ranging from economic to demographic to health-related. Furthermore, we can count the number of times each of these events occurred to our sample individuals over the 11-year period from 1968 to 1978 and thus we need not rely on the long-term memories of our respondents.

Most of the events listed on Table 1 should be self explanatory. "Major" increases or decreases in the income variables are defined as having occurred when incomes double or are cut in half, respectively. We have classified the first four events as "desirable," the next eight as "undesirable," and the remainder as "ambiguous." (Some of these classifications may be arguable to be sure.)

As we look at the actual distribution of those events for our groups of individuals, we find a number of patterns common to all. Let me begin by summarizing our results for married men and then note the differences between them and the adult women in our sample.

First, few married men have lived through this eleven-year period without experiencing a substantial number of these events. More than 99 percent of this group had at least one event occur to them, more than two-thirds experienced one or more *undesirable* events and about the same proportion experienced at least one *desirable* event. The *average* number of total events was about 10; the average number of desirable and undesirable events was about 2 each.

Second, a systematic story of life patterns appears in these data. Most of the action takes place when we are young, and for many events the process of settling down (to no change) is rather rapid. Voluntary changes in job or residential location and the births of children are especially concentrated among those in their thirties. Involuntary job and residential changes and unemployment have a somewhat more uniform distribution across the age ranges. Some divorces and remarriages are observed within each age group, although both are most frequent among the young.

Except for income decreases that accompany retirement, major changes in family income in either direction are almost completely independent of age. Only the factors of becoming widowed, of disability, and of retirement increase with age. In middle years time lost from work because of illness peaks, while decreases in family size are most apt to occur as children leave home. All in all these age patterns suggest that recent attention to "mid-life" changes is focussing on exceptions rather than on common occurrences.

Third, when multiple occurrences of the same event are tallied, the patterns are uniformly accentuated. Multiple moves and multiple job changes are even more frequent among the young than are moving or changing jobs at all. For this reason one can always find high correlations between recent past changes in jobs or residential location and the probability of a future change by the same person, even if the changes do not affect one another.

Finally, undesirable events are frequent, common, and persistent through the life course. No more than one-third of the married men in any of the age groups escaped completely from undesirable events during this eleven-year period. The reason, of course, is that the few events which increase in frequency as one grows older, such as disability and widowhood are undesirable events. Combining these with unemployment, involuntary residential changes and divorce--events which decrease in frequency over the life course--produce a flat pattern: some undesirable events occur at all ages.

The age pattern of all desirable and undesirable events for the adult men and women in the sample is shown in Figures 1, 2, and 3. Patterns for married men are shown in Figure 1, while patterns for initially married women and for female household heads are shown in Figures 2 and 3 respectively. (It is important to bear in mind that some events included in these totals for men are not available for the two groups of women.) Desirable events drop sharply after age 30 for all three groups, largely because voluntary residential mobility is so rare after that. Undesirable events show an age pattern to a much smaller degree for husbands and female heads of households. For wives undesirable events increase, mostly because disability and becoming widowed are much more frequent at the older ages.

Beyond this descriptive analysis of the occurrence of life events, the data provide an opportunity to examine the demographic correlates of events and to look at some psychological consequences of life events. Thus far, our analysis of these extensions has been conducted only for the group of married men, so I will give a very brief summary of the results.

Our analysis follows the framework outlined in Figure 4. The first set of results comes from the arrows running from the background and initial attitudes to the set of events. Here we find that the demographic characteristics of the married men explain differences in the incidence of undesirable events much better than differences in the incidence of desirable events. Educational attainment is a strong deterrent to such events, even when the effects of current income, savings, attitudes and location have been taken into account. The size of the coefficients indicates that those with a college degree rather than an eighth grade education experience, on average, one less undesirable event. Furthermore, those effects of education donot decline with age--a fact which runs contrary to the view that education has a short term effect as a kind of job-getting credential. Our finding fits in with considerable evidence that education leads to more planning and to more advanced problem-solving, as well as to stabler jobs. But those who get more education also started with different backgrounds and personalitites in many measured ways. We also find that savings help prevent undesirable events, as does living in the South, and having high scores on the efficacy and future orientation indexes.

The second set of results relates to the arrows in Figure 4 running from the life events to changes in sense of efficacy and future orientation for the married men. We do indeed find that undesirable events have adverse effects on sense of efficacy but that desirable events have little or no effect. Several of the individual life events have consistent effects on changes in efficacy and future orientation. Disability and increase in family size have substantial negative effects on both. That disability should lower a person's sense of personal control or future orientation is not surprising. It is interesting, however, that such events as having older parents or grandchildren move in with you have the same adverse effects.

Much research in this kind of life-course analysis still remains to be done. Most of our work to date has been done only on the group of married men in the sample, and very little has been done on the two groups of adult women. Nor have we done any work at all on the sequences of life events, so that we don't know the typical patterns of early job, residential and marital status changes nor do we know the typical patterns of these events around retirement age. We don't know whether education and income provide as much protection against undesirable events for women as they do for men.

Bibliography

Duncan, Greg J. and Morgan, James N. "The Incidence and Some Consequences of Major Life Events." In Duncan and Morgan (Eds.), *Five Thousand American Families--Patterns in Progress*, Vol. VIII, Ann Arbor, Mich.: Institute for Social Research, forthcoming.

Table 1.

ORDINAL ASSOCIATION BETWEEN VARIOUS LIFE EVENTS AND AGE

	Married Male Household Heads in 1968	Wives in 1968	Unmarried Male Household Heads in 1968	Unmarried Female Household Heads in 1968	Children under 10 in 1968[a]	Children 10-30 in 1968	Other (mostly adult relatives of the head)
Marriage or remarriage	-.138	-.160	-.403	-.395	.064	.325	
Voluntary job change	-.361		-.515				
Major increase in family income	-.017	-.046	-.300	-.165	-.117	.065	-.109
Voluntary residential move	-.335	-.343	-.302	-.353	-.295	.236	-.278
Becoming Widowed	.196	.296		.062		.013	
Divorce or separation	-.154	-.176	-.070	-.229		.143	
Major unemployment	-.166		-.123				
Involuntary job change	-.207		-.151				
Major work loss due to illness	-.007		.116				
Becoming disabled	.284	.315	.273	.188	-.020	.069	
Involuntary residential move	-.126	-.065	-.107	-.140	-.078	.094	-.120
Major decrease in family income	.068	.021	.129	.007	-.063	.019	-.052
Decrease in family size	.040	.042	.067	-.171	.387	-.223	-.227
Increase in family size	-.335	-.357	-.359	-.398	-.161	.249	-.267
Major increase in labor income	-.139	-.172	-.414	-.298			
Major decrease in labor income	.247	-.179	.258	-.152			
Major increase in work hours	-.311	-.326	-.436	-.394			
Major decrease in work hours other than retirement	-.231	-.285	-.293	-.384			

Figure 1.

TOTAL DESIRABLE AND UNDESIRABLE
EVENTS BY AGE
(For all married male household
heads in 1968.)

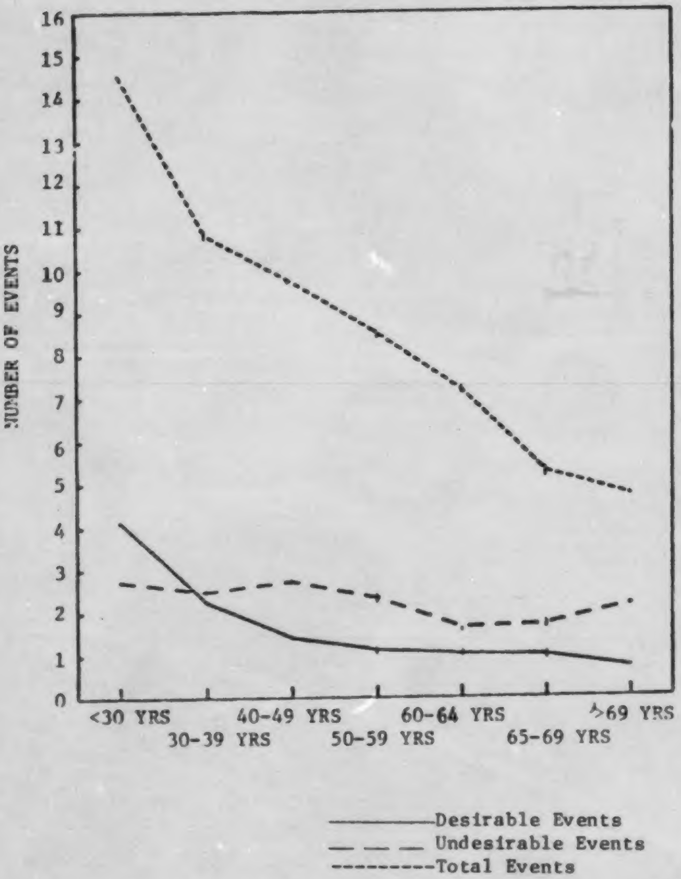


Figure 2

TOTAL DESIRABLE AND UNDESIRABLE
EVENTS BY AGE
(For wives in 1968.)

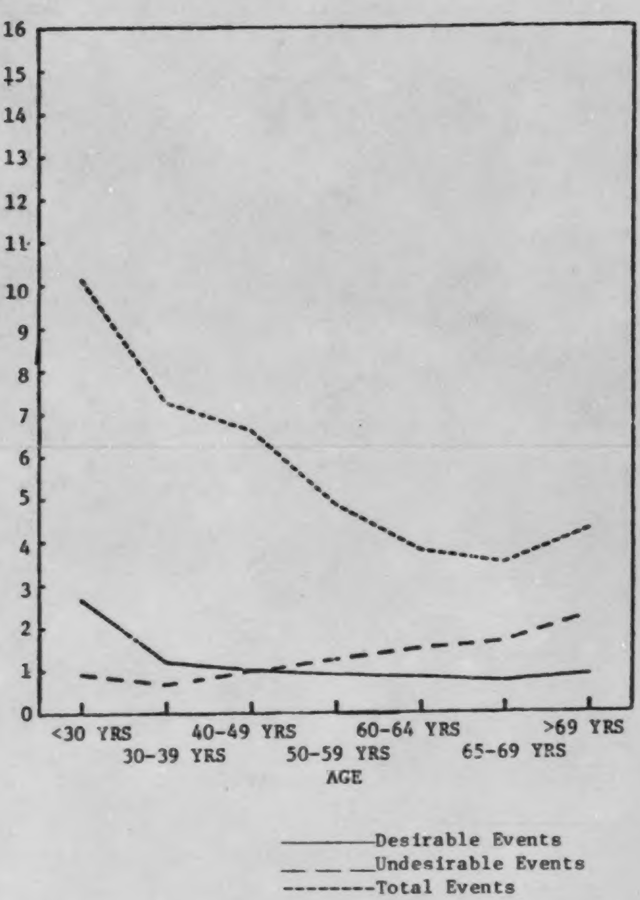


Figure 3.

TOTAL DESIRABLE AND UNDESIRABLE EVENTS BY AGE (For unmarried female household heads in 1968.)

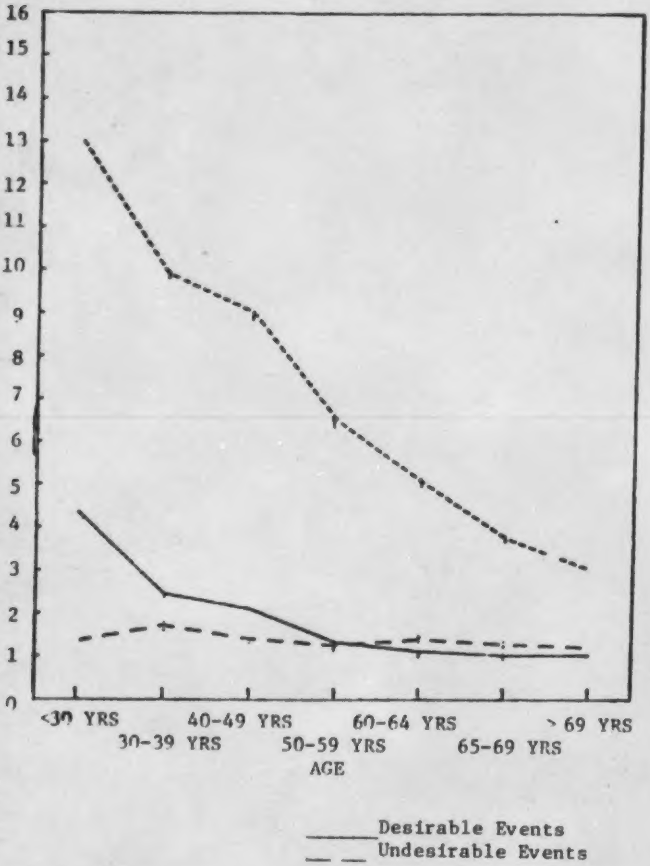


FIGURE 4

A CAUSAL MODEL OF BACKGROUND, LIFE EVENTS AND CHANGE IN ATTITUDES

Life Events, 1968-1975[b]

Background[a]

Change in Efficacy 1968-1975

1968 Efficacy

Change in Future Orientation, 1968-1974

1968 Future Orientation

[a] (1) Education; (2) Age, (3) Whether Savings, (4) Region, (5) Total Family Income, (6) Whether Black, (7) In City Size.

[b] (1) Remarriages, (2) Voluntary Residential Move, (3) Widowing, (4) Divorce, (5) Major Unemployment, (6) Involuntary Job Changes, (7) Becoming Disabled, (8) Involuntary Residential move, (9) Decrease in Family Size, (10) Increase in Family Size, (11) Major Increase in Labor Income, (12) Major Increase in Work Hours, (14) Retirement

IV.

ISSUES OF THE WORKPLACE

AGENTS OF TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE:

WOMEN IN THE PRE-AND POST-INDUSTRIAL WORKPLACE

Daryl M. Hafter

Public policy had a direct impact on the work of women in pre-industrial Europe, because it determined whether or not women could work legally at certain trades and in what capacity. In the form of national industrial regulations, town laws and guild rules, this policy turned the free trades into restricted guilds between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the early centuries of guild existence, a small number of women were admitted to the benefits and privileges of the mastership. By the eighteenth century, public policy had reversed itself and excluded virtually all women from becoming "masters." Of course, widows of masters were in most trades permitted to take on their husbands' role, but even here the time period and the number of apprentices they could train were limited. Thus by keeping most women out of guilds, public policy of the Old Regime decreed that they would work without the protection and privilege of the craft institution.[1]

Officials and guild masters alike justified exclusion of women by the claim that they were not strong enough to work effectively in the trades. This canard is belied by the physical rigors of work that women were forced to accept, as we see from contemporary representations of ragged wood bearers and female mining assistants. Officials also protested that women were not properly trained, forgetting that public policy, not lack of ability, discouraged their apprenticeship. The result of women's exclusion from guilds was that the female workers, along with their children, formed a vast proletariat responsible for much of the production of pre-industrial European countries.[2]

Their place outside the guilds meant that these craftwomen had a unique role in the workforce. Since their work was not restricted by the industrial regulations enforced in guilds, craftwomen were often the first to use new machines and techniques that were still outlawed. In this way, women workers before the Industrial Revolution played a seminal role in promoting technological advances. They did so either by developing new technologies themselves, or by engaging in a shift in job choices that led to the development of labor-saving devices. While Marx has pointed out that women workers became a crucial element in the transformation from domestic to factory industry, our view of women's technological activities will suggest that women affected industrial development far more actively before the modern economic era. With this perspective we will focus less on a sudden Industrial Revolution which pressed workers to follow the demands of machines, and view technical change as a gradual process, often promoted by the anonymous aid of craftworkers themselves. Subsequent research by means of case studies will enable us to "flesh out" our lines of inquiry.

Flexibility of Women Workers. An important element in the non-guild craftwomen's value to industry was their flexibility. Women in towns worked for day wages in industrial concerns and as piece workers in sweatshops. They became "Jills of all trades." So important was this pool of labor that King Edward III of England specifically exempted them from laws tying each worker to one particular craft. "But the intent of the King and his Council," the English law stated, "is that women, that is to say, brewers, bakers, carders and spinners, and workers as well of wool as of linen cloth and of silk, brawdesters and breakers of wools...and all other that do use and work all handyworks, may freely use and work as they have done before this time, without any impeachment, or being restrained by this ordinance."[3] It was the women's flexibility that the king made sure to preserve, although he probably would have called his motive a charitable one. This was the group of workers who made novelties intended to intrigue consumers as well as goods made to sell for less. They were the workers who first set into motion many innovations outlawed by guild and town regulations.

Farming Out Work. Guild records and court proceedings document numerous cases of female workers violating guild laws. Typical of them is the suit against Sieur Simon, master buttonmaker of Lyons, whom the guild accused of farming out work to unauthorized female workers using prohibited materials. In his defense Sieur Simon claimed that the women had set themselves up without his knowledge, but the authorities were able to prove that he supplied them with their tools and materials. In the prohibited area of "mixed" fiber cloth, inspectors discovered many women to be the culprits. The frequent admonitions against sending work out of the masters' houses, as in the case of the ribbon makers and embroiderers, suggest that masters in these trades were also farming processes out of their workshops.

Silk-stocking makers in Lyons were reminded in 1674 and again in 1754, that only bonafide masters were permitted to purchase Pierre Fournir's stocking frame for work on their own premises. Women and men stocking knitters had made good use of the device since its invention.[4] In 1577 the artillery makers of Paris complained about the prevalence of non-guild artisans who not only employed journeyman manservants in their shops, but also "women, apprenticed children and house servants to help them manufacture their products."[5]

The documentation of guildsmen putting out work to non-guild artisans reveals an avenue of work organization by means of which the masters could circumvent numerical restrictions on their output. Equally important to our inquiry is the use of specialized functions which piece workers developed. Spread across urban centers, piece workers became a sort of decentralized assembly line linked to the masters' workshops, where the product was joined and finished. While Marx pointed to the significance of this proto-factory, he did not link the work of women in this network to the development of capitalistic manufacture.[6] Their work becomes more important to the argument when examples of new processes begun in the town putting-out system can be found. This is the significance of the change in English silver manufacture, when newly trained craftwomen learned to produce thinner weights. The eighteenth century London watchmakers' use of women to place the spring and lining into watchcases also illustrates a trade evolving toward a modernized use of workers.[7]

Non-guild women workers in rural areas were in a far more vulnerable situation than any other group in the labor force. Their competition for the same jobs and their isolation drove wages down to subsistence level and below. The fact that they were wives and daughters who managed to apply themselves to their craft only part-time put them even more at the mercy of merchant capitalists. On their miniscule wage, as low as two cents a day in the lace-producing region of the Velay in France and in the Piedmont in Italy, their entire family's survival might depend. Their stipend might be the only money income a poor family received, and low as it was, it meant the difference between the break-up of the family or its survival. With so much riding on their chance to work, the women would not effectively dispute the orders of the factor who appeared at their door with raw materials and collected the semi-finished goods.[8]

While these individuals were dispersed throughout the countryside, their aggregate product totalled a significant amount of the industrial production of many countries. As Olwen Hufton has put it: "With the exception of silk weaving, French industry was predominantly rural industry with only some of the weaving, dyeing and finishing processes concentrated in the towns, and if the small holder or labourer was not a part-time weaver or stocking-knitter, his wife almost certainly was a spinner, carder, or lace maker."

New Techniques Developed by Women. It was in the rural areas that machines for these processes were proliferated and that many of the innovations in shoe-cutting, spinning and weaving were developed.[9]

The women's capacity to develop new techniques was enhanced by their flexible work pattern. New gadgets and products could be tried out by the dispersed workers with relatively small capital outlay before they were adopted by the concentrated workshop. While the distance from the merchants' headquarters required the hiring of peripatetic agents, economic history is lacking in estimates of the savings which industrialists enjoyed by not building factories. Until power could be applied to the manufacturing process, factory type establishments were not profitable in most trades. The English government discouraged the gathering of many workers into one chamber because it feared combinations and strikes, and also because women's salaries were lower in domestic work.[10]

Women predominated in the few concentrated industries that did exist in the Old Regime: wool and later cotton manufacture in England, and silk making in France and Italy. In Florence women entering the wool and silk industries in response to changing demand did much to maintain the city's prosperity in the sixteenth century. Seventeenth-century England employed eight women to each man working at woolen manufacture. The complicated techniques of making silk brocade at the Fabrique **at Lyons**, involved 11,000 women and children as industrial aids for about 6,000 male master weavers, according to a census of 1786.[11] Describing the "women, girls, the reelers, the drawgirls and drawboys" as a "veritable proletariat of the Fabrique," Maurice Garden commented, "Though the work of all these aids is indispensable to the Manufacture, the guild does not admit them to membership; their condition remains that of 'servants,' and not that of 'citizens.'"[12]

This human problem became a technological one when a change of government policy opened the more profitable lines of work to women. Attempting to minimize the influence of guilds as part of a general trend toward liberalizing economic policy, the French government made a law in 1786, permitting women to weave in the silk industry. This legislation had unexpected results. From being acted upon by the physical and economic demands of their machines, the workforce turned to exert its own sometimes decisive influence on the technology being developed for its use. In Lyon the downtrodden auxiliary workers took revenge, the consequences of which on the looms and structure of the old Fabrique they could not foresee. They abandoned the arduous jobs of drawgirl and reeler and took work at the looms as weavers.

The skilled and lucrative job of "reading" a pattern onto the cords also lost most of its workers. Weavers complained that they could find few girls capable of programming the looms with patterns or willing to pull the cords. This labor shortage served to stimulate renewed interest in the invention of a loom designed to function without drawgirls. It was also instrumental in keeping the rival technological innovation for silk brocade patterning, Philippe De Lasalle's moveable cords, from gaining widespread acceptance. By the end of the eighteenth century there was such a scarcity of skilled pattern reading, a craft necessary to De Lasalle's invention, that the Jaquard system of automatic design control **by loom** action became the favored device.[13]

This important case of technological selection can be accompanied by others. Without restrictive guild actions, silk weaving in eighteenth century London also attracted women and children from the auxiliary trades. Ease of work was the attraction here rather than high wages, since the abundance of candidates accustomed to low pay debased salaries for all weavers.

The flight of female workers from silk winding led to a thread shortage. To overcome it, a rudimentary machine was invented. The challenge of operating it devolved on a group of women who expressed new aspects of their own work culture: pride in the ability to handle more than one device at a time. As Dorothy George reported: "The most skilled windster, called a four-swift-engine-windster, was one who could work with an 'engine' that wound four spindles at once...."[14]

This glimpse of pride of craft suggests that even without the proper apprentice formation, which male competitors continually chided them for lacking, the women who used the machines may well have contributed to their design in a direct way. The history of technology abounds with tales of inventions like the stocking frame, which was supposedly constructed in 1589 by William Lee, vicar of a town in Nottinghamshire, to facilitate the work of his wife who was a professional hand knitter. Perhaps we should adopt Diderot's method of historic re-creation of techniques and hypothesize that the wife of William Lee told him how she wanted the stocking frame to be constructed.

Further investigation of the workplace through the means of case studies will determine the range of fields in which craftwomen's influence was most keenly felt.[15]

Technological Improvements by Women. While we need more research to verify the particulars, it seems incontestable that women were largely responsible for improving the spinning process from a spindle composed of a clump of wool on two crossed sticks, to distaff, to spinning wheel. Of Oriental origin, the spinning wheel first appeared in Europe in the wool industry in Flanders and northern France. By the thirteenth century it had spread to Italy and Germany, reaching Austria in the fourteenth century and Hungary in the fifteenth. Representations of the Virgin spinning as the Angel performs the Annunciation, of the Virgin using a distaff as St. Elizabeth winds the thread onto reels, and of the Virgin spinning alongside the Infant Jesus give some idea of the instruments used. During this period spinning wheels were consistently thought to be women's tools. It is appropriate to view the growing competence of the spinners as important influences on the improvements which the machine gained.[16]

The next of these improvements, the flyer invented in the fifteenth century, illustrates how women adapted to the domestic setting a device probably intended for large workshops. The spinning wheel flyer permitted thread to be wound onto bobbins immediately after it was drawn out of the fiber mass. But this advantage was overshadowed by its ineffectiveness with materials of short fiber. Instead of precipitating a modern woolen weaving industry, the flyer supplanted the spindle in home spinning and became the mainstay of the domestic linen and flax production. Its use in the homestead ensured that the finest woolen cloth, made from the long fiber combed wool, would be tied to domestic output. Manufacture of this prized commodity was in turn stimulated by the addition of a pedal to the spinning wheel in the seventeenth century.[17]

The development of the flyer was related to the throwing mill, a structure which helped to unwind thread from bobbins and form it into skeins. This craft has undergone continual improvement from its beginnings in Italy in the fifteenth century, shifting from large workshop to domestic arena, from city to countryside, and finally becoming a factory industry in mid-nineteenth century. "The throwing mill in its early form was a kind of wooden cage or turret turned by a handle connected with a cog-wheel. A number of bobbins on which silk had been wound were attached to the mill whose turning gave a twist to the silk and transferred it from the bobbins to the arms of 'windles or reels' where it was wound on skeins."[18] In France and England, throwing mills were located on the premises of a throwster or at home. This trade attracted very poor women, who sometimes let out mills and silk to women still poorer. As the eighteenth century began it was a common occupation in London poorhouses; by mid-century the trade had moved to the countryside.[19]

Women and Weaving. The twisting and winding of yarns were preliminary activities for that necessary human invention, weaving. Foolhardy indeed would be the individual rejecting the assumption that females invented the warp-weighted loom and contributed to its subsequent evolution. Yet with looms too influences that we have traced in other crafts shaped weaving tools and their use. The earliest loom was the warp-weighted vertical structure seen in pictures from ancient Egypt and Greece. It was used throughout the early Middle Ages, in the gynaeceum of Charlemagne's era and in the home. Some time between the ninth and eleventh centuries, perhaps around the year 1000, the horizontal loom appeared in European workshops. While the warp-weighted loom had been the exclusive province of women, the new loom was to be used by men. Its advantage was in producing a much wider cloth, especially when worked by two weavers sitting side by side. With this invention weaving, particularly the weaving of woolen cloth, became the first concentrated industry.[20]

Women were forbidden to weave on this type of loom, ostensibly because the awkward pedals made the work too demanding. But the technology of the horizontal loom depended on the earlier development of female-powered structures. As the horizontal loom was generalized throughout Europe, leaving the confines of industrial centers in southern Europe, it too found its way into the homes and workshops of town and country dwellers, whose womenfolk sat down on the bench and proceeded to learn its use.[21]

By the time water power and later steam power were added to textile technology, and their machines exhibited the characteristics of the eighteenth century Industrial Revolution, observers could view the women who worked them as modern proletariat. We have traced the earlier development of this industry and realize the long history of the female wage earner in facilitating this mechanical change.

Women as Teachers of New Skills. Early craftsmen turned directly to women workers when new techniques were to be spread. Legend tells us that lacemaking was brought to France by several Venetian craftwomen imported by the government; one Barbara Hutton is responsible for initiating the Germans into knitting, by the canons of popular myth; a tale out of our geographic area attributes the beginnings of Japanese sericulture "to captured Chinese, or possibly Korean, maidens."[22] These stories present a mentality in which it is acceptable for technology to be disseminated by skilled women, and we find that history emulates art in a number of verifiable instances. Especially in the textile crafts, the industrial community has relied on women to teach new processes. Throughout the Middle Ages, convents using advanced machines, produced woven goods, lace and embroidery in sufficient quantity to arouse the anger of town guilds.[23] The pattern for female workers undertaking work on new machines was well established by the time the early Jacquard looms spread through the hillsides of the Rhone valley in France and the slums of London.

Moreover, the women had to call upon their experience and skill to manage the mechanical innovations because the devices were still in a clumsy and primitive stage of development. Far from making their jobs easy and uncomplicated as we are taught to believe about the early Industrial Revolution, the early Jacquard loom, the first spinning jennys, like the machine for stitching glove backs, provided work that "had more trouble with it" in the words of some workers.[24]

The skill to manage new inventions, as we have seen, was drawn from a storehouse of manual experience that had its roots in the most ancient of craft activity. Through a process of continuous invention, women refined and spread devices that increased manufacturing efficiency and made it more sophisticated. Alternating with men and working alongside them, the women found themselves driven to the forefront of technological change by social pressures that resulted from public policy and from their own skills. It was on their backs that much of the output of pre-industrial Europe rested. It was in their hands that many unsung "industrial revolutions" were born.

Notes

1. Information on women in guilds may be found in Henri Hauser, *Ouvriers du temps passe* (Paris: Felix Alcan, 1909), ch. 8; G. Fagniez, *La femme et la societe francaise dans la premiere moitie du dix-septieme siecle* (Paris: 1929), ch. 3; E. Levasseur, *Histoire des classes ouvrieres en France avant 1789*, (Paris: Rousseau, 1901), II, passim; Liliane Mottu-Weber, "Apprentissages et economie genevoise au debut du XVIII^e siecle," *Schweizerische Zeitschrift fur Geschichte* 20 (1970): 340-347; Louis Dubois-Butard, *Les femmes dans la maitrise d'Amiens au XVIII^e siecle* (Amiens: Arch. Dep. de la Somme, 1975), 2^e trim.

2. For a pioneering study of women's relationship to work opportunities in guilds and free trades and their function in the craft work of families, see Natalie Zemon Davis, "Women in the *Arts Mecaniques* in Sixteenth-Century Lyon," *Melanges en hommage de Richard Gascon*, ed. Jean-Pierre Gutton (Lyon, 1979).

3. Cited by Eleanor Dixon, "Craftswomen in the *Livre des Metiers*," *The Economic Journal*, V (1895), 225. Dixon thought this referred to products for use within the home by unpaid domestic workers, but it clearly refers to industrial goods for a larger market as well.

4. *Memoire pour Sieur Simon, maitre boutonnier.*' Lyon: C. A. Faucheux, [1771?] ; *Communaute des Maitres Boutonniers de Lyon, Plaintiff*, [Lyon, 1770]; "Extrait des registres du conseil d'etat," *Communaute des maitres brodeurs, decoupers, egratigneurs, chasubiliers de la ville, faubourgs et banlieu de Paris* (Paris: Rene Josse, 1743), p. 15.

5. "Arrets et regulations," *Communaute des ouvriers en bas de soie, laine, etc. ....de Lyon*(Lyon: J. D. Juttet, 1754).

6. Karl Marx, *Capital*, trans. Ben Fowkes from 1st German ed., 1867 (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1976), ch. 15; Hauser, *Ouvriers*, p. 152.

7. Dorothy George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Degan Paul, Trehan, Trubner & Co., 1930), p. 175.

8. Olwen Hufton, *The Poor of Eighteenth Century France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), pp. 38-39, et passim; See also Louise A. Tilly and Joan W. Scott, *Women, Work and Family* (New York: Pantheon, 1978), Part I, which suggests that for the early nineteenth century and probably in a pattern continuing from earlier years, women were most likely to

work at day-wage jobs when their children were small. This pointed to their vulnerability in the wage market. Henri See views rural industry under the aspect of merchant capitalism in "Les Origines de l'industrie capitaliste en France," *Revue historique* (1923), p. 199.

9. Hufton, *The Poor*, p. 17.

10. Alice Clark, *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920), p. 99.

11. Levasseur, *Histoire* II, 742-743. Among the auxiliary workers Levasseur counts women who were wives, children, drawgirls and female servants. See also Judith C. Brown and Jordan Goodman, "Women and Industry in Florence," *Journal of Economic History*, (March, 1980).

12. Maurice Garden, *Lyon et les Lyonnais au XVIII*^{e} *siecle* (Paris: Editions Belles Lettres, 1970), p. 572.

13. Daryl M. Hafter, "Philippe de Lasalle: From *Mise-en-carte* to Industrial Design," *Winterthur Portfolio*, XII (1977), 139-164.

14. George, *London Life*, pp. 182-183.

15. Irena Turnau, "La bonneterie en Europe du XVI^{e} siecle," *Annales: Economies, Societes, Civilisations*, XXVI (Sept.-Dec., 1971), 1122. Turnau suggests that English stocking frames were spread to France and the continent in the early seventeenth century by the migration of English inventors.

16. Walter Endrei, "Changements dans la productivite de l'industrie laniere au moyen age," *Annales: Economies, Societes, Civilisations*, XXVI (Sept.-Dec., 1971), 1292-1293, 1299.

17. Endrei, "Changements," p. 1293.

18. George, *London Life*, pp. 183-184.

19. Endrei, "Changements," p. 1293.

20. Marta Hoffmann, *The Warp Weighted Loom: Studies in the History and Technology of an Ancient Implement* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1974), p. 258, gives an informed and judicious analysis of loom history. For a recent world-wide survey of weaving implements see *Looms and Their Products: Irene Emery Roundtable on Museum Textiles, 1977 Proceedings*, ed. Irene Emery and Patricia Fiske (Washington, D.C.: The Textile Museum, 1979). Excellent pictorial evidence is presented in Alfred Under, *Spinnen und Weben einst und jetzt* (Lucerne and Frankfurt: Verlag C. J. Bucher AG, 1967).

21. Endrei, "Changements," pp. 1295-1296.

22. Verla Birrell, *The Textile Arts* (1959; rpt. New York: Schocken Books, 1967), p. 28. Natalie Davis also describes a number of women who taught new techniques in textile industries.

23. Rene Espinasse, *L'Ouvriere de l'aiguille a Toulouse* (Toulouse: Edouard Privat, 1906), pp. 75-76: Walter Endrei, *L'Evolution des techniques du filage et du tissage* (Paris: Mouton, 1968, pp. 130-131; Ernest W. McDonnell, *The Beguines and Begnards in Medieval Culture* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1954), and Dayton Phillips, *Beguines in Medieval Strasburg* (Stanford, California and Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edwards Bros., 1941).

24. Cited by Ivy Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution 1750-1850* (New York: F.S. Crofts & Co., 1930), p. 224.

BLACK WOMEN AND THE WORK EXPERIENCE

Patricia Bell Scott

The concept of work is central to understanding the American character. The philosophical foundation of the American social fabric is firmly rooted in the Judeo-Christian idea of work as a purifying and uplifting experience. Early American philosophers conceived work outside the home as the business of responsible men--primarily white men; women and blacks were not viewed as freely participating members of the wage-earning labor force. In light of this fact, the longstanding labor force participation of black women among the working poor represents a phenomenon deserving of serious study.

It is the author's intent to provide a brief overview of the labor force participation of black women with particular focus on occupational trends, to examine discrimination against black women in the workplace, to discuss the impact of the work experience upon the family life of black women, and to raise some questions regarding the impact of public policy upon the work experiences of this particular group.

Labor Force Participation of Black Women. The work role of black women during slavery was that of personal servant or field worker, and it was largely in this capacity that they entered the labor market after slavery, as one of the lowest paid groups. According to research done by the Women's Bureau in 1931, the majority of the black female population was engaged in large-scale agriculture. The second largest group of black workers was employed in domestic and personal service [1] as laundresses, seamstresses, cooks, maids, washerwomen and midwives. The work experience of black women in these jobs can only be described as demoralizing and exploitative. Here is the way a black household servant described her work life in 1912:

> I frequently work from 14 to 16 hours a day. I am compelled. . . to sleep in the house. I am allowed to go home to my children, the oldest of whom is a girl of 18 years, only once in two weeks, every other Sunday afternoon--even then I'm not permitted to stay all night. . . You might as well say that I'm on duty all the time--from sunrise to sunrise, every day in the week. I am the slave, body and soul, of this family. And what do I get for this work. . . The pitiful sum of ten dollars a month.[2]

In the past 60 years, the work life of black women domestics has changed very little as reflected in the study by Studs Terkel on working in America. His informant, Maggie Holmes, reported that she worked for $1.50 a week, five to six days a week. Besides economic exploitation, Holmes asserted that black domestics are victimized in a number of ways--the most degrading of which is sexual exploitation by the men of the family for which they work.[3]

Given the occupational hazards of being a domestic, one might ask why black women have taken such high risk jobs. Occupational options for black women have always been extremely limited, and work as a personal servant after 1900 was often the only option.

As this country became industrialized in the earlier part of this century, the work place for women gradually extended beyond the home. With the increased demand for labor during World War I white women gained entry into factories but black women did not in large measure gain entry into any factories save the tobacco and textile industries in the South. For black women in the tobacco industry the workplace was just as unpleasant as it was for the domestic.

A 1912 account reveals:

> Tens of thousands of Negro women in the South are employed ten hours daily in old, unclean, malodorous buildings in which they are denied the most ordinary comforts of life. Either standing all day, in some occupations, or in others, seated on makeshift stools or boxes with no back support, they toil incessantly throughout the long, tedious hours of the work day, except for a half-hour lunch period at noon. During the intermission there is no means of securing a hot meal or of resting, and there is no alternative except to spend this short period in the workroom or on the streets. The air in the workroom is so heavily laden with fumes and dust that it is nauseating. It is not unusual to see women with handkerchiefs tied over their nostrils to prevent inhaling the stifling, strangling air....The majority of women earn on an average of twelve dollars a week during the working season, which extends from September to May.[4]

In some industries black women worked in the most menial and undesirable roles of sweepers, cleaners, ragpickers, pressers, fruit peelers, processors, labelers, and stampers. Besides being assigned to the traditional "Negro" jobs and "women's" jobs, black women were further humiliated by their segregation from white women in the workplace. Black women worked longer hours than white women and earned less. Virtually all the jobs available to black women were those white women did not want, or those for which other workers were not readily available.[5]

Though most black women have been unskilled workers, a small class of professionals emerged in the early 1900's. Black colleges served as the training ground for the first black women professionals, who were usually either grammar school teachers, nurses or social workers. An analysis of black women's occupational distribution from census data reveals that black women like white women have been segregated into the three "nurturing" professions--teaching nursing, and social work[6] for several decades. Even recent data on black women's aspirations and occupational choice indicate that a preference for these traditionally female occupations persists.[7]

Black Women and Discrimination. One might examine black women's labor force participation from a number of perspectives. From the viewpoint of proponents of the dual labor market theory, a caste-like division of the market into two sections exists--a primary and a secondary sector. The primary sector offers good jobs, high wages, good working conditions, job security, advancement, equity, and due process in administering rules, whereas the secondary sector offers poor jobs, low wages and benefits, poor working conditions, job insecurity, few chances for advancement, and arbitrary supervision. The majority of blacks and women fall into the secondary sector of this paradigm.[8] The dual labor market theory also calls attention to the extensive job segregation of women and minorities and the extent to which discrimination, stereotyping, and traditional roles confine these groups to a secondary labor market, to the less desirable jobs in the primary market, and to a very few desirable primary market jobs.

Other analysts of the labor market have described the status of women and blacks in similar ways, using slightly different terminology. Such groups are commonly referred to as peripheral or marginal workers, among the last hired and first fired.[9] One analyst of black employment in state and local governments of the South contends that a category of jobs exists within the labor market that are specifically "for blacks,"[10] and are typically menial, unpleasant, and involving personal service.

Black women suffer double discrimination--both of race and sex and this double burden increases their chances of occupational segregation and wage discrimination. Recent data indicate that the average hourly wage of black women is $2.75, whereas white women earn an average wage of $3.00.[11] According to 1976 census data, the median income of black men was about $5,980, while that of black women was $3,400.[12]

During the past decade, black women made some economic gains in the labor market. The earnings gap between black and white women has narrowed and the real earnings of black women have increased by 26 percent (compared to 9 percent for white women). However, the earnings gap between black women and white and black men has widened rather than narrowed. In fact, the earnings gap between both groups of men and women has widened appreciably.[13]

In typical presentations of race and sex differentials in wages, the two forms of discrimination have been treated as totally separated phenomena. Traditional analyses of market discrimination by race controlling for sex, and market discrimination by sex controlling for race typically indicate that black women suffer less from race and sex descrimination than black men or white women, respectively. However, Gurin and Pruitt have found that when education and occupation are controlled in analyses of sex discrimination, a large male edge among blacks becomes apparent.[14] Despite the fact that black women represent a larger proportion of the black professional class than black men, the kind of professional position they hold place them at an economic disadvantage in the labor market. In 1970 black women doctors earned $16,438 less than black men doctors; black women engineers earned $2,781 less than black men; black women college teachers earned $3,230 less than black men.

One of the problems in drawing accurate conclusions about the employment status of black women is the shifting base-line of comparison in the separate analyses of sex and race discrimination. Black women are the only group never compared to white men in these typical discimination analyses. When compared to white men, black women hold the least favored economic position; however, this fact is easily lost when black women are compared to white women or black men only.

The data on income of black women professionals indicate that black women receive a lower payoff for their educational training or credentials than men of both races in the labor market. This fact reflects a continuing occupational trend in need of more study. It seems likely that the economic discrimination against black women professionals is closely tied to their occupational segregation in elementary teaching, social work, and nursing--all of which are traditionally female-dominated fields in which wages are low. While current data on occupational trends among black men and white women point to increasing diversification, data on black women point to increasing segregation in traditional fields.[15]

It is unclear why black women have continued to choose the traditionally female occupations. Perhaps the most obvious reason for this occupational choice is the legacy of discrimination against women and blacks in the professional segment of the labor market. For many years the only options open to professional women were in "nurturing" fields, and for blacks the option was menial personal service. Given these limited options, teaching, social work and nursing represented logical choices for college-trained black women desirous of meaningful (but more than menial) work experience.

In this day of widening options, why do black women continue to to choose the professions in which they have dominated? The rationale could be related to the psychological response of black women to economic and social factors in the environment. Studies of black women's ambition, the value they place on work, and their belief in the work ethic indicate that they are similar to white men, but their expectation of success in the market and sense of control over their worklife are lower than that of any other group.[16] In other words, black women are similar to primary workers in their attitudes toward work, but through real (or vicarious) experiences in the labor market, their high ambitions and achievement orientation are subverted. The professions of teaching, social work and nursing provide "safe" vehicles through which one can express ambitiousness and the desire to work.

Another reason for the traditional occupational patterns of black women might be related to their sex role attitudes. Though black women have always worked (without choice) in larger numbers than their white counterparts, research by Gump and Rivers on black women's sex role attitudes reveal that they are not less--but rather more--traditional in sex role attitudes.[17] In general, the data on black sex role attitudes are scant and inconclusive.

Black Working Women and Family Life. Historically, a relationship has existed between the stage in a family's life cycle and the wife/mother's participation in the labor force. For example, participation rates for women in their early twenties before marriage and during the early years of marriage have generally been high. The participation level usually drops significantly after the birth of the first child. As children reach the preschool years, women's labor force participation climbs again, remaining stable until retirement. Data on the relationship between women's employment and family size reveal that labor force participation has a negative impact upon fertility. Working women tend to have fewer children and to space them closer together in age than women who are full-time homemakers.[18]

Unlike white women, black women have historically had high, stable levels of labor force participation over the course of the life cycle. Black college-trained women have the highest and most stable participation rate and lowest fertility level of any group of women.[19] Though women's employment is affected by a combination of factors including marital status, social class, the presence or absence of young children, and educational background, economic need has been the major determinant in black women's work decision. In fact, black women's labor force participation is unaffected appreciably by social class, marital status, the presence or absence of young children or spouse's negative attitude toward women's employment.[20] There is some indication that black women perceive the role of wage-earner as one component of the motherhood role. This framework might reduce for black women some of the psychological conflict typically associated with the competing demands of the traditional mother role and worker role.[21]

Data on the marital status of working black women reveal that married women have higher employment rates than widowed or separated women, and that a significant proportion of working women have dependent children in the household. Black women also travel a greater distance to work, rely more on public transportation, and have higher traveling expenses than white working women.[22]

Some scholars of family life speculate that women's employment has modified or will modify the power dynamics within families. The general thinking is that women's increased contribution to the economic status of their families should increase their role in family decision-making, particularly in the area of family finance and expenditures. Because of black women's longstanding role as economic contributors to the family, many scholars have assumed that they have a key role--perhaps even the predominant role--in decision-making. However, empirical studies of power dynamics within black families do not demonstrate a clear, matriarchal pattern in decision-making. In fact social class rather than race appears to be a better predictor of decision-making styles.[23]

Since black women have a long, stable employment pattern, it is often assumed erroneously that little value and attitudinal conflict exists within the black community regarding women's work role. Yet data in this area reveal the existence of both intrapersonal and interpersonal conflicts. For example, The National Longitudinal Survey of the High School Class of 1972 reported that 48 percent of black males and 35 percent of black women felt that "most women are happiest when they are making a home and caring for children." Forty-seven percent of black men (compared to 29 percent of black women) believed that "it is usually better for everyone involved if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and family." Furthermore, Russo in a study of sex and race differences in conceptions of women's role found black husbands to be more favorable towards wives' employment than white husbands, but less willing to help with household tasks.[24]

Implications for Public Policy. Black women's work experience has important implications for public policy and governmental measures:

1. The historical and continuing segregation of black women in both the professional and non-professional occupations demonstrates the need for strong measures prohibiting discrimination in both professional education and employment training programs. There is some question as to whether or not the current anti-affirmative action sentiment has weakened attempts to promote equal access and equal treatment at the workplace.

2. Current data on the working conditions of poor women indicate a need for strict enforcement of occupational safety regulations and legislation related to fair and reasonable treatment at the workplace.

3. The existing salary differential between black women and other groups points toward a need for enforcement of equal-pay-equal-work legislation, as well as some investigation of the concept of equal pay for comparable work.

4. Scant data on black sex role orientation and occupational aspiration seem to indicate that sex role stereotypes are most likely being reinforced and promoted through educational institutions. For this reason, more attention must be given to the promotion of educational equity among blacks. It is erroneous to assume that sexism does not exist in the black community.

5. The high labor force participation of black women with young children (as well as older children) illustrates the necessity of quality child care services for black families. Given the long distance that black women travel to work, it is important that child care services be conveniently located and have flexible hours.

6. Since current projections do not show a decline in black women's labor force participation, it is important that a system of comprehensive support services be devised to assist the families of working women.

In conclusion, the literature related to black women's work experience illustrates that black women have a long-standing history in the workforce. The data further reveal that participation in the workforce begins early in adulthood and continues in a stable manner over the course of the life cycle. Unfortunately, information on the economic and social status of black women at the workplace demonstrates that they are often victimized rather than rewarded by their work experience. Hopefully, this paper has provided some suggestions for re-shaping the workplace and the development of public policy that might enhance the quality of work and family life.

FOOTNOTES

1. Gerda Lerner, *Black Women in White America: A Documentary History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1972).

2. "More Slavery at the South," by a Negro Nurse, *The Independent*, Vol. 72, No. 3295 (January 25, 1912), 196-200.

3. Studs Terkel, *Working* (New York: Avon, 1972).

4. Emma Shields, "Negro Women and the Tobacco Industry," *Life and Labor*, (May, 1921), 142-144.

5. Lerner.

6. Patricia Gurin and Anne Pruitt, "Counseling Implications of Black Women's Market Position, Aspirations and Expectancies," *Conference on the Educational and Occupational Needs of Black Women*, (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Education, 1977).

7. Gurin and Pruitt.

8. Peter Dowringer and Michael Diore, *Internal Labor Markets and Manpower Analysis* (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath & Co., 1971); Dean Morse, *The Peripheral Worker* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969).

9. Morse; *Women and Work* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1977). R & D Monograph 46.

10. Vernon Briggs, *Negro Employment in the South--The Houston Labor Market* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1971). Manpower Research Monograph No. 23.

11. *Minority Women Workers* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1978).

12. *Minority Women Workers.*

13. *Earnings Gap Between Men and Women* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1979).

14. Gurin and Pruitt.

15. Gurin and Pruitt.

16. Gurin and Pruitt.

17. Janice Gump and Wendell Rivers, "A Consideration of Race in Efforts to End Sex Bias," in Esther E. Diamond (Ed.), *Issues of Sex Bias and Sex Fairness in Career Interest Measurement* (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Education, 1975).

18. Lois Hoffman and F. Nye, *Working Mothers.* (San Fransicso: Jossey-Bass, 1974).

19. Reynolds Farley, *The Demographic Characteristics of the Black Population* (Chicago: Markham, 1970).

20. Algea Harrison and JoAnne Minor, "Interrole Conflict, Coping Strategies, and Satisfaction Among Black Working Wives," *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 40(4), 1978, pp. 799-805. See also pp. 101-109 of this volume.

21. Jean Curtis, *Working Mothers* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1977).

22. *Minority Women Workers.*

23. Vicky Cromwell and Ronald Cromwell, "Perceived Dominance in Decision-Making and Conflict Resolution Among Anglo, Black and Chicano Couples," *Journal of Marriage and the Family,* 40(4), 1978, 749-459; Delores Mack, "Where the Black Matriarchy Theorists Went Wrong," *Psychology Today* 4, 1971, 24.

24. Nancy Russo, "Sex and Race Difference in Conceptions of Woman's Role," paper presented to the American Psychological Association, no date given.

SEX-BASED WAGE DIFFERENTIALS

Mary Corcoran

In 1974 the median earnings of full-time women workers were 55 percent those of full-time men workers. This paper tests three competing, though not mutually exclusive, explanations of this wage gap, focussing in particular on the relationship between the sex composition of jobs and the wage determination process.

The first of these explanations is best described as a "skills" explanation: women earn less than men because women are less qualified than men. Women's lower qualifications supposedly result primarily from their intermittent labor force participation.[1] But most studies which attempt to adjust the male/female wage gap for qualification differences still find that women earn considerably less than men.[2]

Becker proposed a second explanation called "pure wage discrimination," which hypothesizes that workers with equal qualifications may be paid unequal wages. Employers, customers, or coworkers may "prefer" one group of employees to another (e.g., men to women) and, in order to indulge this preference, they are willing to pay a premium.[3] If employer tastes vary across skill levels, then such differences may also lead to sex differences in wage returns to worker qualifications.

A third explanation, called "crowding," centers on the sex segregation of occupations, industries or establishments as the source of low female wages. A number of studies have demonstrated that industrial and occupational segregation each directly affect worker wages.[4] Sex segregation might also affect wage returns to worker qualifications. Bergmann and Adelman argue that typically female jobs offer few opportunities to acquire productivity-enhancing work experience.[5] Sawhill makes a similar argument.[6] Oppenheimer argues that "female" jobs tend to emphasize pre-employment training.[7] Stevenson notes that women are likely to work in jobs that require middle-level skills.[8] If sex segregation does influence wage returns to worker skills, then studies which fail to allow for interactions between qualification measures and sex segregation may yield distorted estimates of both the direct effects of sex segregation on worker wages and of the importance of worker qualifications.

This study differs from past investigations of the male/female wage gap in two important respects. First, it tests whether and how sex of worker, sex-typing of job and both together affect wage returns to worker qualifications for a national sample of urban workers. Ferber and Lowry showed that the relationship between mean earnings and mean education varied by the sex composition of an occupation across a sample of 260 occupations, and that the sex composition of an occupation affected the relationship between education and earnings across occupations differentially for men and women.[9] This analysis differs from that of Ferber and Lowry in that individuals rather than occupations are the unit of analysis, and that a number of qualifications other than schooling are examined. Second, this study defines sex segregation across occupation-industry categories. The sex composition of a particular occupation might vary considerably by industry. Yet past studies of national samples typically investigate sex segregation at the occupation level only.[10]

(See Figure 1). If skills differences fully account for the sex-based wage gap, then the sex and sex-typing terms and all interactive terms should have insignificant coefficients. Substituting the male means on the independent variables into the female wage equation should yield a predicted value of ln (earnings) for women veıy close to the observed value of ln (earnings) for men. If pure discrimination occurs, the coefficients of the sex dummy variable would be positive and significant; furthermore, if employer, customer and coworker preferences for male labor vary across skill levels, then some sex interactive terms may be nonzero. Next, crowding is tested. First, if crowding directly lowers wages, then the coefficient of the male job dummy would be positive and significant. Second, if crowding influences how worker qualifications are evaluated then at least some sex-typing interactions should be nonzero. Third, if men's and women's wages are affected differently by working at a female job, then some of the sex with sex-typing interactions should be nonzero. Finally, if sex-typing of job is inadequately measured, then some nonzero sex interactions may pick up sex-typing effects.

The Data. This paper examines the male/female wage gap for 8,770 white urban workers in 1970. These workers are taken from 10 cities covered in the 1971 Census Employment Survey (CES). Respondents were white, out of school, between 16 and 65 years old, and not self-employed. Appendix A describes this sample in more detail and how it was constructed.

The CES survey is well suited to the examination of male/female wage differentials. The CES is large, making it possible to distinguish analytically between the competing explanations of the wage gap. The CES measures hourly earnings, which, given the number of women who work part-time, is the appropriate dependent variable in analyses of the sex-based wage gap. The CES measures job tenure. If women's low wages are due to less continuous employment, then sex differences in job tenure may be a crucial determinant of the wage gap. Finally, results from an analysis of CES respondents should also provide information about the wage gap between white, urban, working men and women. This is an interesting group for policy purposes. Many manpower training programs and income maintenance proposals are directed at this group of workers. Understanding the ways in which urban women convert (or are prevented from converting) their skills and training into wages and hence into family income should provide useful information for education, manpower and welfare policy planning.

The Variables. Table 1 lists the variables used in these analyses. Most need no explanation. Four dummy variables allow for nonlinear effects of schooling. Each dummy variable represents the incremental effects of completing that level of schooling. A quadratic experience term allows for diminishing returns to work experience. Three variables, sex-typing of current job, work experience and female industry mix, merit special discussion. Each is briefly reviewed in Appendix B.

There are two caveats about these variables. First, the dependent variable used in these analyses is hourly earnings. If job-related fringe benefits vary systematically by sex, then an earnings rates measure will inadequately capture male/female differences in overall compensation rates. But evidence reported by Duncan and Cowan suggests that after controlling for education and experience, there is no significant association between sex and fringe benefits.[11] Second, men and women may differ in some respects which were not measured in the CES. Women, for instance, are less likely than men to take quantitative courses while in school, and women are more likely to interrupt their labor market careers for non-work activities. To the extent that sources of male/female productivity differences are excluded from analysis, this analysis may underestimate the explanatory power of the skills explanation and overestimate the power of the pure discrimination explanation. But the CEW does provide a wide range of measures of the extent of respondents' schooling, training and work participation, and these measures should provide a reasonable, if not complete, test of the skills explanation.

Analysis Results. I explore the three explanations of male-female wage differences by estimating equation 1 for all CES respondents aged 16 to 64 years. The "X_i" in equation 1 refers to the 9 qualification and demand variables listed in Table 1. Table 2 reports the results of estimating equation 1 with insignificant terms dropped. These results might be summarized as follows:

1. Being a man significantly and directly increased worker wages by 25.8 percent.[12]
2. Working at a male work category significantly and directly increased wages by 20.5 percent.
3. Returns to six of the fourteen measures of worker qualifications varied significantly by sex of worker, by sex-typing of work category or by both together.
   a. Men who completed a training program earned 7.2 percent more than otherwise similar men. Women's wages were not affected by completing a training program. This may be a "true" sex difference in wage returns to qualifications. Or this may arise because the kinds of on-the-job training available to women provide financially less valuable skills than do the kinds of training available to men.
   b. Men's wages increased with work experience. This relationship is non-linear; wage increases were about 2.2 percent in the first few years and drop off over time. Women apparently did not benefit from work experience.[13]
   c. Obtaining some post-high school schooling increased women's wages 15.9 percent; such schooling only increased men's wages 8.3 percent.
   d. Men in male work categories received significantly lower returns to high school graduation than men in female work categories or women (6.4 percent as compared to 17.4 percent).
   e. Completing a high school vocational training program increased wages of workers in female work categories by 8.5 percent but had no effect on wages of workers in male work categories.
   f. Recent mobility lowered wages of workers in female work categories by 4.7 percent, but increased wages of workers in male work categories by 2.2 percent. This difference might be due to sex differences in reasons for moving.
4. Sex and sex-typing of job also affected wage responses to three of the four industry and demand measures.
   a. Working for the government rather than private industry raised wages of women in male work categories, women in female work categories and men in female work categories 22.9 percent; it raised wages of men in male work categories only 5.4 percent.
   b. The unemployment rate was postively related to wages for women in female work categories. This finding was unexpected. Effects of unemployment on wages for other groups were small or negative.
   c. Working in an area with a high expected female employment raised wages of men in male work categories less than those of other workers.
5. Men and women with comparable qualifications did not receive wage compensation. Substituting the male means on independent qualification and demand variables into the female wage equation gives a predicated ln (earnings) of 5.5374. The

average observed ln (earnings) of women was 5.5464.[13] A woman with the average man's qualifications earns no more than the average woman.[14]

Implications of These Results for Explanations of the Male/Female Wage Gap. Apparently, men's wage advantages cannot be explained by superior skills alone. Women earned considerably less than men even after adjusting for qualification differences. This is consistent with most past studies (see footnote 2). Two objections might be made here. First, Mincer and Polachek have suggested that not only male/female differences in total work experience, but also female interruptions in labor force participation, lower women's wages relative to men's wages.[15] The CES provides no measures of labor force interruption. Yet other evidence suggests that this omission is not serious. Sandel and Shapiro claim Mincer and Polacheck's results are based on miscoded data; when they replicated the Mincer and Polachek analyses using the presumably "correct" data on a slightly different population, they concluded that effects of labor force interruption were quite small.[16] Corcoran argues that Mincer and Polachek results are caused by age restrictions and shows that for a 1975 national sample of white men and women 18 to 64, male/female differences in labor force interruptions explained only six percent of the wage gap.[17] Second, the present study has probably omitted other relevant worker qualifications. Many such omitted qualifications are probably correlated with included qualifications such as education and job tenure. But some omitted qualifications such as school quality or college major may be uncorrelated with included measures and correlated with sex. To the extent that this is true, this analysis may underestimate the importance of the skills explanation. But since male/female differences on included qualifications explained none of the wage gap, it seems unlikely that sex differences on excluded worker qualifications would account for most of the gap.

Results support the pure discrimination theory insofar as men earn significantly more than women, even after adjusting for differences in worker qualifications and the sex composition of work categories. This bonus may measure employers', co-workers' or customers' tastes for male labor. Alternatively, if women are more likely than men to trade off wages for good working conditions, then this bonus may just measure male/female differences in favorable working conditions. For instance, women may have more fringe benefits than men, or women may have safer, more pleasant jobs. Duncan investigated this issue using the 1973 Quality of Employment Survey and finds that male/female differences in nonpecuniary job benefits account for some but not most of the male/female wage gap.[18]

If the hypothesis were correct, we would expect that working at a female work category would directly lower wages and that different rules would govern wage determination for workers in male work categories and for workers in female work categories. Results support both expectations. Workers in female work categories earn significantly less than other workers. This is consistent with past research (see footnote 4). More importantly, the wage benefits associated with particular worker qualifications varied considerably by sex-typing of job, by sex of workers and/or by both together. Ferber and Lowry find evidence of similar interactive effects when examining the relationship between schooling and wages across occupations,[19] but no one has previously investigated this issue for a sample of individual workers or for a wide range of qualifications other than schooling.

Further, at least some of the time, being female and working in a female work category affected wage returns to qualifications in ways predicted by proponents of the crowding hypothesis. For instance, Oppenheimer and Stevenson argue that female jobs emphasize pre-employment training and middle-level skills. Women and men in female work categories had higher returns to high school graduation than did men in male work categories; completing a high school vocational training program increased wages in female work categories but had no effect on wages in male work categories. Post-high school education (short of a B.A.) raised women's wages almost twice as much as men's wages. Bergmann and Adelman have suggested that female jobs do not offer chances to develop productivity-enhancing experience. In these analyses men's wages rose as work experience rose, but women's wages were unaffected by work experience. Finally working in areas with a high proportion of "female" jobs (female industry mix) had weaker effects on wages of men in "male" work categories than on wages of other workers. If there are separate labor markets for male and female labor and if female industry mix measures the demand for female labor relative to male labor, then we would expect just such a result.

This test of the crowding hypothesis must be qualified. First, the definition of sex-segregation, based on the Census intermediate industry and occupation codes, incorporates neither establishment nor within-occupation segregation. This means that sex and sex-typing effects may be confounded in these analyses. Perhaps more accurate measurement of sex segregation on the job would provide stronger support for the crowding hypothesis and enable us to separate out sex from sex-typing effects. The second problem is more fundamental. Although this study examined the effects of the sex composition of one's work category on wage returns to worker qualifications, it did no determine (a) what leads men and women to enter sex-segregated fields, or (b) what economic motives might lead employers to hire men and women for very different kinds of work.

Policy Implications. As is often the case with social science research, these results do not point to one unambiguous solution. But they do help in thinking about solutions. Male/female differences in average qualifications did not explain the wage gap between men and women. This fact suggests that those who claim that the labor market is equitable and unbiased are likely wrong; it is also strong evidence that education and training programs alone will not eliminate sex-based wage differences.

These results show there was a large negative wage penalty to being a woman. Equal pay for equal work laws might help in dealing with the direct penalty for being a women, but such laws are not enough. Men and women generally worked at different jobs: there was a direct penalty to working at a female job; and co-workers were evaluated somewhat differently in female jobs than in other jobs. Women must be given access to male jobs. Even this change is no guarantee of equality, since within a given job men and women still may be treated unequally. While white women in male jobs were somewhat better off than other women workers, they are much worse off than men in male jobs. In addition, women's and men's qualifications were apparently evaluated quite differently in male jobs. Employer practices within given fields must be monitored to ensure that women and men are evaluated equally.

FIGURE 1

$$
\begin{aligned}
(1)\quad \ln \text{EARNINGS}=\alpha &+ '\sum_{i=1}^{m} \beta_i X_i ' + ' \lambda \cdot \text{SEX} ' \\
&+ ' \sum_{i=1}^{m}\phi_i \cdot \text{SEX} \cdot X_i ' + 'd_i \cdot \text{SEXTYP} ' \\
&+ ' \sum_{i=1}^{m} \Theta_i\ \text{SEXTYP} \cdot X_i ' \\
&+ ' \gamma ' \text{SEX} \cdot \text{SEXTYP} ' \\
&+ ' \sum_{i-1}^{m} \eta_i \cdot \text{SEX} \cdot \text{SEXTYP} \cdot X_i '
\end{aligned}
$$

where

SEX = 1 if respondent is male
0 otherwise

SEXTYP = 1 if working at a male job
0 if working at a female job

EARNINGS = a measure of worker earnings
X_i = worker qualifications or local demand measures

TABLE 1 VARIABLES[a]

EARNINGS = Earnings (in cents)for the week prior to the interview/ hours worked that week

SEX = 1 if male, 0 otherwise

SEXTYP = 1 if work category is 0-40 percent female, 0 otherwise

E 9-11[b] = 1 if completed 9 or more years of school, 0 otherwise

E 12[b] = 1 if graduated from high school, 0 otherwise

E 13-15[b] = 1 if had one or more years of post-high school schooling, 0 otherwise

E 16[b] = 1 if graduated from college, 0 otherwise

PHLTH = 0 if respondent reports he (or she) has a health problem, 1 otherwise

PSKILL = 0 if respondent reports he (or she) has a skill problem, 1 otherwise

HS/TRNG = 0 if respondent had any vocational training in high school, 1 otherwise

TRAINING = 1 if respondent ever completed a training program, 0 otherwise

MIGR = 1 if moved in last year, 0 otherwise

TENURE = Tenure on present job in years

WORK EXP = # of years of work experience

WORK EXP SQD = The square of work experience

FULL TIME = 1 if respondent works full-time, 0 otherwise

FULL YEAR = 1 if respondent worked 48 or more weeks in the year prior to the survey, 0 otherwise

OT[c] = Number of hours worked in excess of 40 hours in the week prior to the interview

GOVT = 1 if employed by the government, 0 otherwise

UNEMP RATE[d] = Unemployment rate in city of residence

SOUTH[d] = 1 if now living in the South, 0 otherwise

FEMIND[d] = Percent expected female employment in the city

TABLE 1 (cont.)

[a] Sex interactions with other variables will be denoted as follows: S·variable name. So the sex interaction with E 9-11 is called S·E 9-11. Similarly, sex-typing interactions will be denoted as follows: X· variable name. So the interaction between E 9-11 and a "male" job is called X·E 9-11. Sex with sex-typing interactions are denoted by S·X· (for example S·X·E 9-11).

[b] These education variables are cumulative. An individual with 12 years of school, for instance, would have 1's in E 9-11, E 12 and 0's in E 13-15 and E 16. The coefficient of E 12 would represent the difference in earnings between those with less than 12 years of school and those who finish high school.

[c] This overtime measure has a potential simultaneity problem if low paid workers tend to work more hours than other workers.

[d] These variables are included to capture local demand effects. An alternate strategy would have been to include 8 dummy variables for cities. I chose not to do this for two reasons. First, I wished to investigate whether the sex composition of a worker's job affected his or her response to labor market conditions. Second, including eight dummies with three possible sets of interactions could complicate analysis considerably.

TABLE 2

A MODEL OF WAGE DETERMINATION[a]

Dependent Variable = ln Earnings

	B	Standard Error B
CONSTANT	4.5669	.9572
E 9-11	.0442**	.0133
E 12	.1600**	.0148
E 13-15	.1478**	.0194
E 16	.1775**	.0218
PHLTH	.1630**	.0205
PSKILL	.0658**	.0131
HS/TRNG	-.0820**	.0160
TRAINING[a]		
MIGR	-.0461**	.0211
TENURE	.0081**	.0006
WORK EXP[a]		
WORK EXP SQD[a]		
OT	-.0126**	.0007
FULL YEAR	.0838**	.0109
FULL TIME[a]		
FEMIND	.0111**	.0020
GOVT	.1823**	.0166
UNEMP RATE	.0187**	.0083
SOUTH	-.0686**	.0109
SEX	.2292**	.0585
S·TRAINING	.0695**	.0154
S·E 13-15	-.0682**	.0236
S·WORK EXP	.0216**	.0014
S·WORK EXP^2	-.0004**	.0000
S·UNEMP RATE	-.0561**	.0140
SEXTYP	.1868**	.0732
X·MIGR	.0679**	.0311
X·HS/TRNG	.0794**	.0232
X·UNEMP	-.0444**	.0171
X·E 16	-.0596	.0450
S·X·GOVT	-.1360**	.0250
S·X·E 12	-.0908**	.0190
S·X·UNEMP RATE	.0851**	.0190
S·X·FEMIND	-.0048**	.0020
S·X·E 16	.0851*	.0493
# of Cases	8770	
R^2[b]	.3081	

---

*Significant at the .10 level.

**Significant at the .05 level.

[a] Coefficients of these variables were highly insignificant in the initial runs, and so were dropped in the final runs.

[b] R^2 is not adjusted for degrees of freedom.

Appendix A. The Census Employment Survey (CES)

In late 1970 and early 1971 the Bureau of the Census surveyed 58 selected low-income areas and collected information about current employment status, work experience and work histories of all individuals over the age of 16 years in each household sampled. For this project, I drew a sample of presently employed white respondents from the following 10 cities covered by the CES survey: New York, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, San Francisco, San Antonio, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, and St. Louis. Respondents were excluded if they were in school, were over 64 years of age, were self-employed, did not report earnings last week or hours worked last week or failed to report the industry or occupation of employment or length of tenure in their job.

This CES sample is not a nationally representative sample of workers. The sample covers urban areas only and is concentrated in low income areas. Yet there is a wide range in individual incomes within the sample. CES respondents differ from a national sample of employed persons in three respects.[1] CES respondents, particularly women, are more likely to work full time the year around. CES respondents, particularly men, earn less than the average U.S. worker. CES respondents are generally less well educated than workers nationally. But CES distributions on age, education, salary and occupation indicate that there is a great deal of variance on these items within the CES sample.[1]

---

[1] Tables which provide more complete comparisons of CES respondents' income, age, earnings and education to those of a national sample of workers in 1970 can be obtained by writing the author.

Appendix B. The Sex-Typing, Work Experience and Industry Mix Variables

Sex-typing. Distinguishing between different explanations of the male/female wage gap requires a good measure of sex-typing of job. A measure of percent female employed in intermediate Census occupational-industry groups was generated from the 1970 1/100 Census Public Use Sample. I will call these groups "work categories." There were 791 work categories.

I tested five alternative measures of sex-typing. These measures were:

(1) SEXTYP = percent female in present work category
(2) SEXTYP = 1 if work category is 0-40 percent female; else = 0
(3) SEXTYP = 1 if work category is 0-50 percent female; else = 0
(4) SEXTYP = 1 if work category is 0-60 percent female; else = 0
(5) SEXTYP = 1 if work category is 0-70 percent female; else = 0

For each measure I ran equation (1) on the CES subsample. The second, third, and fourth measures provided a somewhat better fit to the data (higher R^2) than did the first and last measures. The three middle variables gave essentially the same results in these test analyses. The R^2's never differed by more than .001, and there were no differences in sign and few differences in significance of regression coefficients across the analyses. The similarity of results is not surprising since 90 percent of *all* workers work at work categories that are less than 40 percent female or more than 60 percent female, so very few workers are reclassified across the three competing dichotomous measures.

This study defines a work category as female whenever more than 40 percent of the workers in that category are women. All other work categories are male. I chose this definition by using the percent female in the labor force in 1970 (38.1 percent) as a reference point.

Work Experience. The CES measures neither the extent nor the continuity of work experience for women or men. Men's work experience is estimated as age - education - 6. Hill has shown that this measure correlated 0.95 with reported work experience since age 18 for a national sample of men in 1974.[2] For this study, I constructed an estimate of work experience for women based on their age, education, number of children, marital status and family income (exclusive of their own earnings) using an equation derived from the 1968-1969 R.I. Health Survey.[3] This equation predicted work experience reasonably well, ($R^2 = .60$), but not perfectly. The female work experience measure is probably measured with more error than the male work experience measure; this is likely to depress the age of the female coefficient.

Female Industry Mix. Bowen and Finnegan defined female industry mix as the percentage of jobs in a given SMSA which we might expect to be held by women in 1959, and found that this industry mix variable was positively related to women's decisions to work.[4] I calculated an industry mix variable for 1969 using Bowen and Finnegan's procedure. If there are separate labor markets for male and female jobs, this variable should measure demand for female labor relative to male labor and be positively related to female wages and/or to wages in typically female jobs.

---

1. Intermediate Occupation and Industry codes were assigned using listings from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1970 Occupation by Industry*, Final Report PC (2)--NC, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972, pp. x to xvi. A description of the final categories can be obtained by writing the author.

2. Dan Hill, "A Note on Work Experience Measures," unpublished memo, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute for Social Research, 1975).

3. The Rhode Island Health Survey is a random sample of 2,200 R.I. households conducted by The Population Studies and Training Center at Brown University from 1968 to 1969. Tables describing respondents' characteristics in this sample can be obtained from the author.

4. William G. Bowen and T. Aldrich Finnegan, *The Economics of Women's Labor Force Participation* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1969).

Notes

1. Jacob Mincer and Solomon Polachek, "Family Investments in Human Capital: Earnings of Women," *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 82, No. 2, Part II (March/April, 1974), pp. S76-S108.

2. See Sawhill, "The Economics of Discrimination Against Women, Some New Findings," *The Journal of Human Resources*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, (Summer, 1973), pp. 386-387 for a summary of six such studies. Also see Burton G. Malkiel and Judith A. Malkiel. "Male-Female Pay Differentials in Professional Employment." *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 63 (September, 1973), pp. 693-705. Malkiel and Malkiel found a sex wage differential of 20 percent even after controlling for several dimensions of experience and schooling for a sample of men and women in technical and professional jobs in a single firm. Mincer and Polachek, "Family Investments", find that married women aged 30 to 44 earn about 20 percent less than married men 30 to 44, even after adjusting for work experience and job tenure.

3. Gary S. Becker, *The Economics of Discrimination*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957).

4. Examples of such work include: Donald J. McNulty "Differences in Pay Between Men and Women Workers", *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 90, No. 12 (December, 1967) p. 40-43; Victor R. Fuchs "Differences in Hourly Earnings Between Men and Women," *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 94, No. 5. (May, 1971), pp. 9-15; Malcolm Cohen "Sex Differences in Compensation," *Journal of Human Resources*, Vol. VI, No. 4 (Fall, 1971); Donald J. Treiman and Kermit Terrell, "Women, Work and Wages: Trends in the Occupational Structure Since 1940," in Kenneth C. Land and Seymour Spilerman (eds.), *Social Indicator Models* (New York: Russell Sage, 1975), pp. 157-199; Marianne A. Ferber and Helen M. Lowrey, "The Sex Differential in Earnings: A Reappraisal," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, Vol. 29, No. 3, (April, 1976), pp. 377-387; Mary Juff Stevenson, "The Determinants of Low Wages for Women Workers," unpublished dissertation (Ann Arbor, MI.: The University of Michigan, 1974).

5. Barbara Bergman and Irma Adelman, "The 1973 Report of The President's Council of Economic Advisors: The Economic Role of Women." *The American Economic Review*, Vol. LXIII (September, 1973), pp. 509-515.

6. Sawhill, "The Economics of Discrimination Against Women."

7. Valerie Oppenheimer, *The Female Labor Force in the United States*, Population Monograph Series, No. 5, University of California, Berkeley, 1970.

8. Stevenson, "The Determinants of Low Wages for Women."

9. Ferber and Lowry, "The Sex Differential in Earnings."

10. Stevenson, "The Determinants of Low Wages for Women" includes measures both of sex composition of occupation and of industry in her analyses, but does not control for the sex composition of occupation within industries. Nor does she investigate interactions between sex-typing and returns to worker qualifications.

11. Greg Duncan and Charles D. Cowan, "Labor Market Discrimination and Non-Pecuniary Work Rewards" in Burkhard Strumpel, Charles Cowan, F. Thomas Juster and Jay Schmiedeskamp (eds.), *Survey of Consumers 1972-1973* (Ann Arbor, Mi.: Institute for Social Research, 1975) pp. 31-56.

12. The figure 25.8 percent is calculated from the SEX coefficient (.2296) in Table 2 as follows: $e^{.2296} = 1.2580$.

13. This finding must be qualified somewhat. The work experience variable is estimated differently for women than for men. (See Appendix B for a discussion of this issue).

14. Substituting female means on independent qualification and demand variables into the male equation leads to a similar conclusion. A man with the average women's qualifications earns only a little less than does the average man.

15. Mincer and Polachek, "Family Investments in Human Capital", pp. S78-S108.

16. Steven H. Sandell and David Shapiro, "The Theory of Human Capital and the Earnings of Women: A Reexamination of the Evidence," reprint, (Columbus, Ohio: Center for Human Resources Research, 1975).

17. Mary Corcoran, "Work Experience, Work Interruptions and Wages," in Greg Duncan and James Morgan (eds.), *Five Thousand American Families*, Vol. VI, (Ann Arbor, Mi.: Institute for Social Research, 1977) pp. 110-120.

18. Ferber and Lowry, "The Sex Differential in Earnings."

WOMEN IN CETA:

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF PUBLIC SERVICE EMPLOYMENT

Jeanne Prial Gordus

To a significant degree, the experience of women who have participated in several programs available under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, CETA, reflects the larger experience of women in the labor market, yet the outcomes are sufficiently different to merit special attention. This report will present a brief description of CETA, its development and implementation, its changing directions, its successes and problems, setting this description in the framework of the present condition of the labor market, the employment and unemployment prospects we see now and those we can expect in the immediate future. Next the specific programs in which women have participated will be explored, with their objectives, accomplishments and problems. With the larger outline in place I should like to add some survey results available from the Department of Labor, supplemented with some case study material we have developed. Only parts of this picture can be completed, since much additional research needs to be done on this large and complicated system.

Goals of CETA. CETA, the national employment and training effort, is part of a field which includes not only such intervention efforts but the whole practical side of labor economics and policy, with the unfortunate traditional title "Manpower." How the protracted use of that term reflects the way women fare in the labor force and in employment and training programs will be reviewed in a later section.

The purpose of CETA is to provide training and employment (usually in a work-experience or public service employment type of position) for persons who are economically disadvantaged, unemployed or underemployed. CETA subsidizes them while they learn and work, with the ultimate goal of gaining and retaining unsubsidized employment. The idea of planning and implementing a natural program on a local level is relatively new. The presumption is that local efforts toward this goal will work better in local labor markets, since local program persons are supposedly better informed about local needs than nationally organized and federally run and administered programs.

When CETA was first passed in 1973, a strong impulse existed behind the initial legislation to train and provide work-related experience to persons who had been short-changed in the opportunity structure and particularly to train them for civil service kinds of jobs. The fact that minority persons were very under-represented in local government, in police and fire departments, and in City Hall was a matter of concern that CETA set out to address. The recession of 1974 to 1975 made CETA a convenient administrative tool to aid in relieving the worst of the unemployment. Title VI, a counter-cyclical partner to Title II, the original Title, offered subsidized public service employment positions, usually in local government and agencies. As Title VI expanded, many entry-level jobs in many arms of government at the local levels became CETA jobs. When CETA funds from the federal government were expended, jobs in local government were lost, which of course added a new dimension to local politics. Several research organizations are now investigating the impact of CETA on local government services and, even more interesting, the impact of recent CETA cutbacks on localities. Preliminary reports indicate there are unexpected program implications in such changes. But much has already been made of CETA's first five years, and the most significant result of that period of trial and experimentation has been the reauthorization of CETA just a year ago. Under present authorization CETA will continue to run much as it is now, until October 31, 1982.

CETA Programs Today. Two important trends have occurred during the lifetime of CETA. CETA began primarily as a male program, but since 1977, as unemployment has struck women more severely than men, women have been increasingly enrolled in CETA programs. Secondly, the definition of economic disadvantagement for eligibility in CETA programs has been gradually tightened.

Title I CETA activities includes many younger disadvantaged persons with emphasis on classroom and other training activities. The high rate of unemployment for eligible, economically disadvantaged young women has been reflected in Title I programs, since in fiscal 1978 for the first time more women--nearly 52 percent--than men were enrolled in this special program series. Since 1977 the same trend shows up in the other broader programs under CETA Titles II and VI. In 1977 40 percent of Title II enrollees were women; in 1978, 45 percent (both figures disproportionately high with respect to women's labor force participation). Title VI shows the same trend, though less marked, from 36 percent in 1977 to 38 percent in 1978.

Across that period, it is important to note another effect: CETA eligibility for programs as well as for some Titles, Title II for example, tightened up a great deal, targeting much more on the economically disadvantaged. In the early days of CETA, when regulations were less strict, it was important, even critical, to the CETA prime sponsor, to get enrollees in the office and federal dollars out of the community. Before the late autumn in 1974, and in some places even after that, unemployment was not as high as it was to become; many CETA enrollees may have had the technical eligibility, but they certainly were not disadvantaged in the sense that term is normally used. Under new regulations, however, Title II participants must be economically disadvantaged according to quite stringent criteria; they must have been unemployed 15 weeks or more, or on welfare.

Title VI has also had its requirements tightened up, but Title VI will continue as it is now designed, to cope not so much with persons who are hard to employ as with people caught in counter-cyclical unemployment.

CETA's Success Record. If that is how CETA *is* running, and that is how it can be expected to continue, how *did* it run? Here we encounter rather serious methodological problems, created for us in part by the Department of Labor.

As we said at the outset, the object of CETA is to provide services which enable enrollees to leave CETA for unsubsidized employment; an enrollee who does this is called a "positive termination." While the Labor Department values such a move from CETA most highly, it does not, in its reporting procedures or its recording procedures, differentiate between this type of program outcome and other outcomes, such as full-time enrollment in school, an employment and training program not funded by CETA, or enlistment in the Armed Forces. These outcomes are all lumped together and called "positive terminations." However, that is a good deal better for research purposes than the period prior to 1978 when anyone who transferred from one CETA title to another was counted a "positive termination." For our purposes the reporting procedure and the gross figures available from it are not reliable, and it is impossible to compare 1978 program outcomes with any specificity or degree of comparability with any year before that. Presumably things will be better in the future, or at least more comparable.

For 1978 there were about 58 percent positive terminations; 30 to 35 percent of the terminations were job placements. That year about 3,332,000 people went through CETA, with about 1,200,000 people in public service employment. Title I, serving younger persons on their transition into the work force, has much better results than the other titles, where not more than 30 percent of the workers leave CETA for regular unsubsidized jobs.

What are "negative terminations?" Many of them are simply drop-outs from the program; others are those encouraged to leave by subcontractors who took on CETA employees and then fired them. Some "negative terminations" followed upon reduction in levels of funding so that CETA people lost their jobs and were not able to find employment before termination.

It's an expensive program too, in 1978 costing 9.5 billion dollars in comparison to a 1977 outlay of 5.6 billion dollars.[1]

So because of the ways in which records were kept and data collected during the early years of CETA, a great deal we need to know about program participants' experience after CETA is either not available, or has been processed in such a fashion that comparisons among groups with specific types of demographics and other characteristics, cannot be made very easily. In fact the idea of doing such a national follow-up study did not arise from the availability of data ready for secondary analysis but from the fact that the large scale information we had about CETA outcomes differed so dramatically from what we knew from case studies.

CETA outcomes for all participants, male and female, until the end of fiscal 1978 can be summarized quickly. Things improved over time. Participants had more earnings and employment after the program than before. Earnings and employment were better for the groups followed up a year after program termination than they had been three months after termination. The Labor Department concludes in part that their own analysis masks the difference between two CETA groups, those with stable employment backgrounds and those with troubled work histories. Those with good work histories did well after CETA, but they did not reach their former pre-unemployment levels, while those who had had troubled work histories fared better than they had previously.

Yet overall CETA results look mediocre for everyone. At the end of fiscal 1978, the lower average hourly earnings for CETA graduates was $3.09 an hour and the highest clustered group was making $3.77 per hour. The group which clustered together as being employed for the greatest fraction of the work year (and for this figure we take all enrollees entering the program from January 1975 through 1976, about 2 million people)the group working most during a year worked on average 61 percent of a year. The group doing least well worked 29 percent of the year.

These program results do not look good. Shall we suppose that a good portion of these people had troubled work histories, and were Title II participants? Our case studies, based on a sample which is purposive and which has only three persons in it who could be considered by any standards as hard-to-employ, reveal quite a different picture.[2]

Case Study of a CETA Group. All persons in this sample worked at Public Service Employment, at a site I will call the Organization, in white collar, quasi-professional, paraprofessional, and apprentice professional positions.[3] All had finished secondary school. All but two of the fifteen held the B.A. degree. Five participants were men and ten were women; this distribution follows precisely the distribution of persons on the prime sponsors' CETA rolls during the period in question--from mid-1975 until after the end of fiscal 1978.

Two of these workers were what we have come to call CETA "special" people. It had become customary by late 1975 for local agencies and offices of government to look over applicants for jobs, to select some highly qualified candidates and to inquire whether these people were eligible for CETA. Often, as noted above, until early 1977, an unemployed or underemployed person became eligible very easily. This office would then apply for a CETA-subsidized position, prepare a proposal requesting a person with qualifications very close to those of the preferred candidate, would then send the candidate to the local CETA office and would, after the processing of forms, come up with a CETA-funded job and a CETA approved individual to fill it. These "special" people, whether male or female, fared much better in The Organization we investigated (as well as in most other subcontracting organizations) than any other CETA people, because it was considered within the Organization that these people were "real" people who just happened to qualify for CETA. In the Organization as in other agencies, such CETA workers not only were accepted as full-fledged members of The Organization but, depending on their own initiative, could use The Organization's resources in any number of innovative ways to further their own career aspirations. In fact, special privileges were often extended to these people, because it was felt that they were valuable but that they were also free, that their status as CETA people did not reflect their true value and that concessions should be made to them. Both "special" CETA people, both women, left the organization at their own behest for excellent positions with enormous career potential, and their earnings after CETA were very high and continue to rise. Each is still employed by her first post-CETA employer, one after two-and-a-half years and one after slightly less than a year.

These "special" CETA people were studied in another context in a research project under the aegis of the Institute of Public Policy Studies at The University of Michigan; in that larger study of prime sponsors they fell into a category of middle-class CETA people. It was hypothesized that under the old regulations, when unemployment increased, CETA became a middle class program; in fact our special middle class enrollees were able to use the context of public service employment and the fact that their employment was subsidized as leverage to assist them in programs designed to aid them as well as The Organization.

But for any organization subcontracting from CETA, especially when it was important for local prime sponsors to get as many placements as possible, there was a cost involved in getting your own people in CETA jobs. The cost was taking on other CETA employees.

Three of the CETA employees, two women and one man, were, for different reasons, categorized as hard-to-employ. The male was most difficult, although highly skilled, since a prison record was, until

CETA intervention, an insurmountable obstacle to good employment. After a year at the Organization, this man left to take a job of higher status paying about 50 percent more than CETA had paid. One of the women, a person with equivalent skills, had had a history of substance abuse, and when the first wave of CETA cutbacks came through The Organization, she was pressured to leave. Because of family problems and problems on the job also--problems of morale, not of performance or of substance abuse--she agreed to terminate. She went on unemployment, is presently living on a small legacy, and has not yet been reemployed on a full-time basis. The third hard-to-employ woman was less skilled, a single black female head-of-household with four dependents. She exhausted her CETA eligibility and finally found employment of a similar kind, but at a reduced rate of pay. Neither woman received the support and assistance during employment or the job search that was extended to the man, in part because the man requested such assistance persistently and received it, while requests from the women were not denied but ignored.

Of our case study sample, there are ten remaining, six women and four men. They, more than either of the other two groups, were lost in the shuffle of The Organization. Four of them left because funds were cut back and their positions eliminated, and no special efforts were expended by either the subcontractor or the CETA office. The Organization, it should be noted, like any subcontractor, was expected to open on a preferred basis to CETA people any unsubsidized jobs in The Organization, yet only one CETA person remained with The Organization and took a substantial pay cut to do so. No person in this group of ten got a job better than the CETA-subsidized job directly after leaving The Organization. Three terminated to return to school, or returned to school when no other jobs turned up. After three years four people from the group, counting the one person who remained with The Organization, were employed, two at better jobs with higher pay--which took an average of two years to obtain--and one at an equivalent job--which took three months to obtain.

Let us review this fifteen person case-study sample. Three women are now employed at jobs as good as their CETA jobs but at slightly lower rates of pay than they had received two years ago. Two women, "special" CETA people, are employed at higher rates of pay. Of the men two have returned to school full-time while the other three are employed at better jobs at better rates of pay, despite the fact that one was hard-to-employ and no assistance or special privileges had been extended to any of them. The five remaining women are still either unemployed or underemployed, although their qualifications, skills, education and job performance in the subcontracting organization compared favorably with the performance of the men.

I should note that The Organization in which our CETA case study people worked is in many respects a good one. There are women locked into pink collars, but there are also women with professional status, developing careers and a sense of responsibility toward junior women in The Organization. Still the power is retained by men within and external to this part of the organization.

of the best subcontracting organizations in which CETA people can be placed. What happened then to the CETA employees in the firm?

Certain attitudes and patterns of behavior consistent with high expectations can be either reinforced by an organization or thwarted within the organization. CETA people in The Organization, particularly the women, were pushed slightly off-base, and the results, except for the "special" CETA people, were clear. The women were not encouraged, particularly in view of their CETA status, to have high self-esteem or to value their competence. No benchmarks were established against which they could test themselves. It was obviously not rational for most CETA persons in this setting to commit themselves to The Organization and to make work the central life focus; their futures clearly were not with The Organization, and no assistance was available to show them how such a path outside could be cleared for them. Competition within The Organization was clearly proscribed. Moreover, rewards were not in the hands of The Organization. Further, a subtle sense of second-class citizenship for all CETA persons, a feeling exacerbated for the women, inhibited their association with persons higher up the organizational ladder and discouraged career-oriented small groups informally created as support groups. There were no clear channels for CETA persons to make suggestions about work changes within The Organization. They were outsiders, and only those specially chosen were permitted to view the job as an instrument for mobility or growth and to use it that way.

The subcontracting organization did not set out to develop and enforce certain values. Except for the men and the two "special" persons in the case study, all information points to the same sets of characteristics exhibited after a time by all other CETA persons in that organization and, in 70 percent of the cases, either developed or strongly reinforced during their tenure with the organization. Clearly self-esteem did not increase for most but in fact decreased, especially with respect to job competence. Other characteristics, which either initially developed during the tenure of the women in The Organization or were reinforced, were tendencies to find satisfaction outside work, and even to relinquish the work role with less reluctance then would have been supposed. Complaints were not voiced after the first few times; instead the response to work-related frustration was more likely to be restricted output of work.

Increasingly, the rewards of the Public Service Employment job were seen to reside less in the job itself and more in the economic aspects of the job. This last tendency came to be self-defeating for those women who were searching for other positions, many of which had entry-level salaries lower than the local CETA prime sponsors could offer through The Organization. The identification of the salary as *the* important reward of the job was translated into evaluation of potential jobs almost exclusively on the economic rewards. The style of thinking proceeded roughly in this fashion. If this job, for which I am paid X is so onerous, how much more burdensome will be this other job I am considering, which pays only .85 X? Obviously, such a process is not conducive to a new lease on working life for persons who have already experienced the difficulties associated with unemployment; those upon whom the burden lies most heavily are those doubly disadvantaged, CETA-eligible women.

Policy Implications for CETA. Organizational changes necessary to make CETA clients more successful become even more significant as we move our insights from these case studies toward the policy context. Even without a major corporate collapse, unemployment will rise sharply. As we all know, women have, in general, a more marginal,a more tenuous, a less long-term and secure attachment to the labor force than men; they are the last hired, and first laid off. Equally clearly, the proportion of women, already in a slight majority in many CETA programs, and destined to increase for program reasons (the Displaced Homemakers program to mention just one), will increase even more in the coming period of unemployment. Consequently CETA clients will be disproportionately women who already have had less than ideal relations with the labor force, and who, under the prevailing conditions, can only have marginal assistance from CETA Public Service Employment programs unless steps are taken to monitor, to evaluate, and to change The Organization and all the organizations like it.

However, in conclusion it is important to stress what has not been done and what needs to be done. We have presented here data about two levels of program outcome. On one plane, Labor Department figures for the entire national effort are not comparable and insufficient information is available for good secondary analyses. Our case study data, a combination of results available from the study of records, from detailed monthly interviews over a two-year period, plus prolonged observation, are clearly suggestive. They can, however, form nothing more than the basis of a series of hypotheses to be tested in the process of a major research effort, despite the fact that those organizational imperatives which explain the case study outcomes appear to be good probable explanations for the outcomes of CETA and for many women Public Service Employment clients as well.

Given the fact that these two bodies of data remain discrete still, in the absence of needed research to connect them firmly, is it even appropriate to develop plausible descriptions of the processes at work? Further, is it premature to bring these preliminary findings and their tentative explanations into the area of program, policy and planning? CETA Programs have already touched the lives of millions of people. The opportunity offered by CETA to individuals, to communities and to organizations is so important to the development and maintenance of human resources in the broadest sense, that CETA program evaluation and policy development can no longer be left to "manpower" specialists.

Let us set these suggestive results in several contexts. First, Mary Corcoran's compelling analysis of sex-based wage differentials* reveals that economic reality is based on at least two identified social realities, discrimination in the broad sense, and special workplace discrimination in the form of the "clustered" occupational deployment of women. Consider, therefore, the impact upon individual women, of sex-based and wage-specific discrimination, *plus* the ghetto experience of clustering within lower occupational groups, to which is added the erosion of those very values and skills that a CETA experience was designed to provide. Clearly our outcomes for The Organization are rather better than average, as the Department of Labor figures show, yet even the better traditional organizational arrangements can be counter-productive for persons placed in Public Service Employment positions.

---

*See pp. 179

Next, let us place these outcomes in a CETA perspective. For CETA to provide the employment and training opportunities that are required by public mandate, there is clearly a critical need to monitor, evaluate, and promote constructive change in agencies where PSE jobs are provided. So many agencies depend upon CETA-funded jobs for their survival that significant inroads upon traditional organizations which employ CETA workers can be made.

Notes

1. All these data are available from the Department of Labor in the several publications from 1975 to 1978. In fact, most are conveniently summarized in U.S. Department of Labor and the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Employment and Training Report of the President*, 1979, G. P. O. Washington, D.C., pp. 30-35; 97-121.

2. Records were made available from the personnel office of The Organization including all personnel files. The shortest period of time for an employee subsidized by CETA was about six months, while the longest was just short of three years, a period in excess of the statutory maximum. Workers averaged 14 months. The total period of The Organization's CETA subcontracts was three years and nine months. The Organization's record, in Department of Labor parlance was good; of the 15 persons in the case study, 11 were counted as "positive terminations," although these terminations were considered costly. Ideally, a "positive termination" should result after six months of subsidized employment, although that objective is not often reached.

3. Only two persons of the 15 were in bona-fide clerical positions. Two additional persons began as coding clerks but this quasi-clerical classification soon became an inadequate description of their data reduction duties. No steps were taken to change these job titles since the more professional title would not have entailed more pay from CETA.

V.

TRANSITIONS AND CRISES:
DEALING WITH CHANGE ACROSS THE LIFE SPAN

WOMEN'S MID-LIFE CAREER CHANGE:

FACILITATING THE TASKS OF MID-LIFE TRANSITION

Jacquelyn Wiersma

Precisely what are the mid-life issues which most women face? What psychological changes occur when women choose to leave the home to go to work or school in the middle years?

This study explores the ways in which a career change from domestic to a non-domestic commitment (work or school) can not only provoke, but also help women to work through the psychological tasks of mid-life, how such a shift can also be a way of catalyzing, facilitating and resolving some of these important life stage tasks.

From our examination of the psychological experience a woman may have during this transition, we shall draw suggestions on how a program to facilitate re-entry into academic or non-domestic work worlds can speak to those needs and feelings.

The Sample. The research on which this paper is based was a three-year multiple case study conducted through on-going interviews. All research subjects had followed a traditional female role pattern for the first part of their adult lives; they were, or had been, married and had children.

The research subjects had each made a decision to change careers after having clearly established themselves in a domestic career as a housewife and mother, or in some other combination of work inside and outside the home in which domestic commitments clearly took priority in their definition of themselves. The impact of this change from one adult career commitment to another was studied for how it fit into, and played a part in, the women's psycho-social identity: whom they defined and experienced themselves to be.

The case study participants were selected from a pool of 40 women initially interviewed who fit this career change criterion and who were referred to the researcher by a number of referral sources. The 15 case study participants were chosen as examples of different facets of the kind of change, and accounts of this change, which seemed to be especially clear cut, verbal, and/or psychologically interesting. The first interview established important themes in the subject's change and in her life as a whole; in this interview, the text of the account of her career change was essentially established. In subsequent interviews both the subject and the interviewer would try to pick out, explore, modify, and elaborate what they saw as the essential features of this text. They would both then try to relate the experience of this career change event to the meaning it had in the context of her current world and life history.

Though no particular hypotheses were pre-established, special attention was paid to each woman's identity, i.e., her conception of her "self," and to the consequences for this sense of self when she made a change in life commitments.

What is here called the "life-theme" is a composite of telescoped experience, of many different on-going strands in a woman's life-history. These themes consist of ways of seeing one's self and describing the various significant relationships and roles she has had--and continues to have--to others and to the world in general.

We will use this concept of the life theme and the need for transformation of it as a way to look at what the tasks of mid-life are for the kind of woman we are considering.

Events of Mid-Life for Women. Though it is not yet agreed on in the research literature exactly what ages or stages comprise mid-life, the important work of Bernice Neugarten and associates indicates that a stage called "mid-life" is more determined by reaching certain events on a social clock than by chronological age.[1] Certain social events which are standard or expectable, then, can best describe mid-life for a traditionally-oriented woman: among them, what has been called the "family launching stage" or the "empty nest," that is, the departure of the children from the nuclear family home. Another expectable series of events signalling mid-life are mortality - the death or aging of parents and signs of aging in one's self, spouse, or peers (for instance, lack of physical vigor, noticing how much weight one has gained over the years, or even an early heart attack or discovery of cancer in a friend). The mid-life stage can also be described in terms of career plateaus: a wife and mother has reached and passed the peak of a need to devote time and psychological commitment to nurturing children and maintaining the home.

For the woman, these events in the social and external world will bring forth certain salient psychological issues: she must begin to separate psychologically not only from her children but also from aging parents who may soon die. She must prepare herself for a series of goodbyes. A separation, since it allows for more personal individuation, is likely to stir up issues of dependency vs. independence. With her parents and children going, she must define herself in a new way - no longer as the daughter or mother of so-and-so, but as who she is in her own right.

For the first time since the arrival of children, she will also probably have the leisure not only to examine this question but to act on it by developing new interests and exploring other ways of being competent than by nurturing the development of others. When this new-found time to develop competence includes an opportunity for gainful employment, she also finds the issue of dependency vs. independence stirred up, for she now has some degree of financial independence. Previously her identity may have been by association: she knew who she was by her association with her husband's career and her children's progress.[2] Now, after having established and inhabited that kind of *vicarious* identity, she can work on another side of herself--an identity by doing something of her own, an identity which develops and establishes her autonomy, which tests her ability to stand alone and to be effective in something other than a supporting role to others. She now confronts the question of whether she will take center stage in her own life.

As described by mid-life theorists, among them Daniel Levinson,[3] Roger Gould,[4] Marjorie Lowenthal,[5] Bernice Neugarten and David Gutman,[6] and even popularly by Gail Sheehy in *Passages*,[7] a woman may at this point begin to stress traditional male values of effectance, competence, in short, doing, as more salient to her identity. For a women then the important tasks of mid-life will be:

1. separation and individuation,
2. dependency vs. independence,
3. development of competence, or identity through association vs. identity through effectance. This might also be expressed as identity through love vs. identity through work; or, in terms of Parsonian sociology, the precedence of instrumental roles over expressive roles in one's self concept.

To illustrate more concretely how these tasks surface and are approached in the transformation of a life theme during mid-life and to notice how the dovetailing of the career transition with these tasks provokes and facilitates work on these themes, let us examine several representative case histories.

The Case of Chris. Chris provides an interesting illustration of the preservation and transformation of a self-evaluative theme. Chris is a 46-year-old divorced woman who is currently a public relations consultant for a large manufacturing company. Previously she was a housewife active in community affairs, who had done occasional free-lance editing and writing. After her husband was transferred to an area near a university community, Chris began to work for a B.A. in business and shortly thereafter she separated from her husband.

In Chris we see the transition of the career change and of the divorce which accompanied it as attempts to separate the bad (or critical) self from the good non-critical self, to slice it off literally and throw it away (to "divorce" it from herself), so that she could settle in and inhabit the positive self.

When I asked Chris to describe her career change, she immediately began to tell me about her divorce. She said that she'd lived in such a sheltered situation that now she felt ready to leave her "nest" and "strike out on my own." She wasn't getting any younger, she said, and thought that if ever she was going to "break out," now was the time. When I asked her why now, she was not sure but speculated that it might be because her family had been making a geographical move which felt like a turning point. Besides, her daughter, to whom she is very close, was nearly ready to "leave the nest" and no longer needed a mother at home.

But she did initially drop clues about her developing dissatisfaction with her life as it had previously been. "Here I was, divorcing my husband, my family breaking up," she says. "I was alone in the world. I should have been sad, but I was delighted!" The second clue: she epitomized how sheltered her family's existence had been with the laughingly outraged statement, "My children had never even been on a city bus!"

Much later in the interviewing process, we found out that this city bus is for her a symbol of a very happy era of her life. While she was in junior high school, she was allowed to take the city bus alone; she remembers roaming the city, going to art museums and parks, writing and drawing, going to the beach, on her own. She contrasted this period of freedom with her high school years when her mother no longer permitted her freedom because Chris had begun dating. Her mother's sheltering and stifling supervision ushered in a new mother-daughter relationship of constant conflict, a period so unpleasant that Chris escaped at her first chance. She leapt into marriage to remove her over-protective and critical mother from her life. Chris spoke, not surprisingly, of her junior high and early marriage years as a time of being "divorced" from her mother.

As we talked further about the marriage, however, the preliminary benign image of Chris's ex-husband began to sound increasingly over-jealous, over-protective, and critical. Chris began to use the same words to describe him as she had described her mother. She found solace in starting to build up less compliant modes of behavior, "making a fluff," as she puts it. She caused a town scandal by a vigorous protest that city taxes were going for Little League uniforms for rich kids. She protested the malpractice in a funeral home; she blasted the editor of a magazine for irresponsible journalism. These outbursts reminded her of her mother, she said, but her own outbursts were different, because she turned them to social good. These occasional fusses, seemed to be cumulative, so that when mild-mannered Chris decided to bolt from her husband (who was by this time experienced as another critical mother figure), she had developed a self-assured manner--a kind of alternative repertoire of behavior, which was a modification of the fighting she used to do with her mother--that she could pull out and use with her husband. Almost before her husband knew what was happening, her new self had filed for divorce.

But why did she make her "break" at exactly that time? What allowed her to sustain a new aloneness; what kept her from running back to a sheltered situation? For one thing, her husband wasn't quite the domineering spouse at this point, but sometimes seemed a bit unsure of himself, out of his depth in a new job and more urban setting than he was used to. And even more important, Chris's mother had contracted a fatal illness; by the time Chris left her marriage to return to school, her mother was too feeble to protest and criticize.

In this account, we see the transformation in Chris's life theme as an attempt to externalize the critical attitude that Chris had towards herself into a two-person interaction and simply "divorce" the person who now represented this critical attitude. She attested to the validity of this interpretation: "If I'd stayed with my husband, I never would have had a career. This way I'm free to fall flat on my face. There's no one around to criticize and say 'I told you so.'"

We also see that Chris has, under the guise of "divorce" from them, gradually incorporated hitherto "uncharacteristic," unwanted traits into herself. She became both like the mother she fought and the independent, long-forgotten--even aggressive--child who fought her. In mustering the strength to cut off a part of herself, Chris had to reclaim those very traits which she sought to extrude. She had, in actuality, transformed a life theme whose primary dimension was her ongoing fight against criticism. She accomplished a separation from her mother and from critical figures in general, but only by further defining her identity so as to let a part of her mother live on in her in order to say goodbye to this ambivalent figure. To deal with the issues of independence, she had to prove her own competence, but in a particular way: by standing up to, and separating from, those figures she'd experienced as critical.

Case of Karen. Karen, too, let herself work on a life theme through a career transition, but in a way which contrasts to Chris. Chris's transition style was one of "breaking out" dramatically. Karen, on the other hand, slowly backed into a situation where she could work on a version of herself as "the supporter" of others. Not only did she begin adult life by viewing her major role as maximizing her husband's career potential, but later it became clear that she also saw herself as the major defender of her father, who, she felt, had given up his career aspirations because of the demands of his domineering wife.

Karen is a 40-year-old woman who is currently an academic historian and assistant professor in a small college. Karen originally began her career change so that she could become a "responsible" faculty wife. She was going back to school as a way to further her husband's career and to fit in better with his social network. She also saw it as a means of making "legitimate" her volunteer activities and para-professional work in the community, which were centered on child-rearing practices and institutions. She returned to school to study history, but with the emphasis on the influence of children on the family, the determinants of family size, and the effects of childlessness.

Karen experienced successive, seemingly fortuitous opportunities for advancement as being "thrust up" by her husband's encouragement and the support of the academic community. One promotion led to another and she accumulated successively more advanced academic degrees, far beyond her original expectations. She began to be quite confused about her different roles; she said that she never felt sure of whether she was a "goddess or an every day drudge." She did indeed have an ambivalent status at work, and after her initial frenzied plunge into a career, began to prolong this uncertain state by stalling her academic progress, procrastinating completion of a necessary degree for increasingly involuted reasons.

During this time, however, she entered a kind of moratorium, in which she began to read voraciously, especially biographies of famous women who were either "queens or whores," trying to work through the final step of her transition in fantasy, vicariously, before actually taking action. She began to elaborate fantasies of being alone and childless, having a separate house for herself which would be her "own turf," a "safe womb"; she flirted with the idea of taking a job abroad in which she would have to leave her family in service of a career. Karen made trial forays into being alone on conference trips. Although she felt as if she were "escaping from a convent," she nevertheless experienced the lack of structure as "feeling disembodied," as if she were "floating." "It felt like there was nothing there; I was nothing. . ." She struggled with constant depression.

What is interesting to note is that her career change, which began in service of her old role, gradually became the opportunity for her to become responsible and legitimate as a person in her own right, once she had absolved herself of "responsibilities." She began to specify exactly what those family responsibilities were. She portrayed herself as very close to her father, a man whose academic career in history had been cut short by the necessity of working to support the unplanned birth of a first child. Karen also felt that her mother may have colluded in thwarting her fahter's career. Karen's older brother, feeling unwanted, had a difficult childhood and adolescence for this reason. He separated traumatically from the family by removing himself to South America when he came of age.

Karen, in her career change, seemed unconsciously to be seeking, as she says, to "bring my family together." During a period of self-imposed isolation, she finally completed her degree in history, in effect, finishing her father's career and showing her mother that one could have career and children. Her thesis was on the meaning of children, on a subject suggested to her by her brother, using fieldwork data collected in South America, the site of his declaration of independence from the family. Karen, throughout the project, pointed to her father's sustaining spirit giving her courage to proceed, but reported great depression as she completed her thesis. She felt that she had fulfilled her obligations and thus obtained permission to proceed with her own autonomous life. She did however, go through an intense period of grieving with me as she took leave of her family, especially her father. During a difficult period she wondered, "Why don't I turn to him?" She answered herself by saying that she had "obliterated" him from her life. She didn't feel that he could help her any longer, eventually saying tearfully, "I don't need him in the same way anymore. But its' hard to be alone. I guess that's what it is."[8]

Through the case of Karen we not only see how, like Chris, she reworked and transformed a life theme as the supporter of others, but we also note how in a loving way she accomplished independence from father and others like him in the course of what initially felt like an external push to develop her own competence.

Concerns of the Mid-Life Struggle. In their career transitions, both Chris and Karen had to deal with the issues we have noted as those of the mid-life stage in women: 1) independence 2) separation and 3) competence. Though the scope of this paper does not permit full discussion of how these general issues are confronted in the career transition of similar women, these case studies are representative of certain expectable concerns which arise in the simultaneous experience of career transition and mid-life struggle for separation and individuation.[9] These concerns can be summarized as: 1) leave-taking from old relationship patterns; 2) continuity with the past, emphasized in this paper by the life theme approach; 3) the need for permission and recognition of the transformed identity (which has been an intrinsic part of the career transition); and 4) the isolation of the returning woman.

Support for Women in Transition. A cursory examination of these concerns in light of the case study material will offer, by implication, several suggestions for how a program might support women in this career transition.

Though the positive, self-esteem enhancing, satisfying, and even euphoric aspects of the career transition are easily evident and amply demonstrated,[10] it is also important to allow for those aspects which are less readily admitted.

The work of leave-taking may often involve a considerable amount of depression and ambivalence. In contrast to the intense pressure that returning women seem to feel to present their experience in a positive light, more exploration often reveals that they have--at least in part--a lonely and difficult struggle.[11] In transforming a life theme, old relationship patterns and ways of relating to the world must undergo a parallel transformation.

A struggle to redefine these relationships often involves the stirring-up of latent ambivalence. Chris, through incorporating some of her mother's qualities in herself, had to give up that adversary and her pattern of relating to her: "I feel cheated. Now I can't argue with her." Another grieved not only for her father, who had actually died, but also for the self which was preserved as "special," as a "princess," in relation to him. Karen's case is a particularly good illustration of the dynamics of the mourning process. Another variation of this process is captured well by one subject: "The pain to me is about things that I wanted as a child that I didn't get." She described poignantly her struggles to give up that needy childhood self, to realize that she now has the competence to give herself the nurturance she didn't get before.

To help women deal with their ambivalence and the griefwork in this individuation process, it is useful for any facilitating program to make it possible for women to differentiate clinical psychopathology from the expectable struggles of changes in self-definition. Such a program might allow this work to happen by legitimating the recognition of the grieving aspects of separation, while refraining from value judgment.

A second area of facilitation is suggested by the integral connection that a woman's career transition has with her past--with her on-going life themes. Many of the women interviewed saw their career transition as disconnected from their life histories. This severing of life into disconnected sectors can also lead one to experience discontinuities between domestic and career sectors of experience, that is, between public and private selves. As one subject said:

> I was very aware of my inner self and my outer self. . . But what I really wanted was someone who was willing to "see me" in terms of all of me, both sides, rather than demanding just one. Because sometimes I felt that I had to be superwoman, showing only the functioning outer self.

Subjects in this research often felt strangely split, as if they were existing with a kind of dual track consciousness. Arbitrary and rigid separation of roles led to role conflict and isolation.[12]

Hence the second function a program may offer a woman in transition is that of stressing the continuity in her life to militate against role conflict through arbitrary division of spheres of experience.

But the actual fact of role conflict cannot be ignored. We have noted some of the struggles a woman might have in gaining permission from internalized figures for a shift in her relationship patterns, but we can also see that she will encounter enormous resistance from domestic and occupational networks which must shift to accommodate her transformed identity. As many subjects bitterly described, the social and interpersonal world in which they lived was not about to give them permission for their proposed change. The world in which they existed was comfortable enough as it was; the change in them would cause reverberating changes in the rest of their world. If these subjects were breaking an implicit contract, they would behave in a certain manner or play a specific role; they could not expect the violated parties to condone their actions.

The result of this resistance seemed to be that these women's transitions were simply not recognized; they had to confront the horrifying experience of finding themselves invisible. The experience of not having one's own life reflected in one's social world is as unnerving as looking in a mirror and finding no reflection. One begins to doubt one's own reality.

Karen said that she was struck by her "invisibility" when she finally got her Ph.D. She felt that this was due to her becoming a "hot potato" as an older woman who had a domestic career first.

> They could not understand and were totally opposed to such a non-traditional backwards career. They can't control mature women and there's no way they were going to approve that kind of career path.

Throughout her interviews as a research subject, Karen described the process of the painful "struggle to be recognized." At this point, the odd split that she continually alluded to--being an "authority one day, a goddess, even, and an everyday drudge the next"--becomes more understandable. Without a consistent image of herself reflected to her by others, it is no wonder that she sometimes felt that she was "shattering inside."

Therefore, a third function that a facilitating program might perform is to recognize the reality of a woman's transitional identity and new career in its entirety, by reflecting her image back to herself. Such a program might let her speak freely about all sides of her experience, acknowledging the inevitably ambiguous and seemingly contradictory details as permissible.

Isolation of Mid-Life Career Changers. A final point speaks to the extreme isolation that mid-life career changing women may feel. The overwhelming majority of women interviewed felt alone because they were not aware that they were *not* different, unique, or deviant by virtue of their private reality, which they assumed was different from every other woman's. These women confessed, conspiratorially, that they were certain that some of their private experiences must mean that they were atypical. It became clear that as each of these subjects admitted to ambivalence, depression, lack of permission and recognition, they felt that all of the other subjects interviewed must in fact feel quite positive, invigorated, and as if she were reborn. "But I'm probably deviant," she would admit in hushed tones. But each subject admitted the same kind of deviance as she confessed those very feelings that she was sure set her apart from other returning women. Even Chris and Karen remained silent once they had discovered the personal life theme configurations that were part of their career transition, each thinking that perhaps her individual variation on the general themes of separation, individuation, and competence was due merely to personal quirks.

The implication of this uniform experience of isolation for program planning is simply that it would be not only valuable, but exhilarating for these women to be able to speak with each other openly, to admit to the importance of their subjective feelings, including ambivalence and depression, their feelings of leading split lives with an inner me and an outer me, and their horror at the degree to which permission for, and recognition of, the change in themselves is resisted by others. They might then begin to see, as the women's movement has made clear, that the personal is also social, and -- by extension -- political.

In summary, this paper has shown how a life theme approach to understanding women's development is useful in demonstrating the dove-tailing of the tasks of mid-life with a career transition, and in so doing, presuming the unity of experience -- public with private, past with present. When the necessity of emphasizing and legitimating this unity becomes clear, the following suggestions for program facilitation of this simultaneous personal and career transition emerge:

1) to legitimate and permit subjectivity to enter into public discourse as a necessary part of the career change and mid-life transition;

2) to stress the continuity between one's life history and spheres of present experience;

3) to recognize a career change and personal identity transition by mirroring it;

4) and, perhaps most important, to promote open discourse and sharing between women who feel themselves isolated and deviant when in reality their experience is the rule rather than the exception.

FOOTNOTES

1. Bernice Neugarten, "Adaptation and the Life Cycle," *Counseling Psychologist*, 6(1976).

2. The idea of woman's identity by association, or vicarious identity, has become, by this time, one of the major tenets of the women's liberation movement, and has been discussed widely in feminist writings. The idea was perhaps first popularly represented in academic psychology by Judith Bardwick, *The Psychology of Women* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971) and by Elizabeth Douvan in Joseph Adelson and Elizabeth Douvan, *The Adolescent Experience* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966).

3. Daniel Levinson, *The Seasons of a Man's Life* (New York: Knopf, 1978).

4. Roger Gould, "The Phases of Adult Life: A Study in Developmental Psychology," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 129 (November, 1972): 521-31.

5. Marjorie F. Lowenthal and associates, *Four Stages of Life* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1974).

6. Bernice Neugarten and David Gutman, "Age-Sex Roles and Personality in Middle Age: A Thematic Apperception Study," in Bernice Neugarten (ed.), *Middle Age and Aging* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

7. Gail Sheehy, *Passages: Predictable Crises of Adult Life* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1974).

8. It is interesting, parenthetically, to note that Karen's career had been fostered by a male mentor who seemed to

play a fatherly role in parallel fashion to her actual father's role in her personal history. He supervised her research and writing and sponsored her entrance into the academic community. However, when she felt she had outgrown her use for him, at the same time that she no longer needed her father, she began to have difficulty in freeing herself from him and in re-defining her role as one who would in turn sponsor others, i.e., as a leader instead of a follower. Karen is one of the few of the many women interviewed in this research who have had the fortune to find and sustain an on-going mentor relationship, though she has also had the subsequent difficulty of freeing herself from him.

9. For a full description and discussion of the expectable concerns of a woman changing careers at mid-life, see Jacquelyn Wiersma, "Women's Mid-life Career Change: On the Methodology of Personal Transformation." (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1979).

10. One of the most dramatic, graphic and consistent findings of on-going program evaluation research at the Centers for Continuing Education of Women at both the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, and University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, has been a significantly heightened self-esteem in women who returned to school (Personal communication, Jean Campbell and Hazel Markus, Michigan CEW; Judy Lutter, Minnesota CEW).
For further reference, see also Hazel Markus, "The Return to School," *Educational Horizons*, 54 (1976); and Jacquelyn Wiersma, "First Findings: The 'Average' Subject," (Ch II), *loc. cit*, 27-80.

11. For an elaborated explanation of this phenomenon, see Jacquelyn Wiersma, "The Cliche Amplified: Common Issues in the Returning Woman Phenomenon" (Ch. VI), *loc. cit*, 418-73.

12. In contrast to this arbitrary splitting of experience, however, this paper has used the concept of life theme to illustrate how any event in a life occurs in context, and how the experience of career transition and simultaneous mid-life issues are of a piece. Social and personal worlds, past and present, are interpenetrating and illuminate each other. For instance, Karen's mentor relationship took on meaning to her because it re-created elements of her relationship with her father. But conversely, her relationship with her father became revived by this mentor relationship. Chris's past and present reverberated with each other as husband reminded her of mother and vice versa; the meaning of each to her became amplified and played a salient part in the movement to a career transition.

This unified view of experience also sheds light on what is termed, in this paper, "separation." "Separation," far from being an arbitrary division or splitting off, is really a kind of transition in how persons stood in relation to each other. Women took leave of a previously extablished relational configuration, not of people. Chris and Karen took new stances toward significant figures; they did not purge, or even forget, them.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bardwick, Judith. *The Psychology of Women.* New York: Harper and Row, 1971.

Douvan, Elizabeth and Adelson, Joseph. *The Adolescent Experience.* New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966.

Golden, Susan and Wiersma, Jacquelyn. "Facilitating Psychsocial Transitions in Normal Adult Development." Paper read at "Promoting Competence and Coping during Adulthood" the Fourth Vermont Conference for the Primary Prevention of Psychopathology, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont, June 22, 1978. (Paper available from Michigan CEW).

Gould, Roger. "The Phases of Adult Life: A Study in Developmental Psychology," *American Journal of Psychiatry,* 129: 521-31.

Levinson, Daniel. *The Seasons of a Man's Life.* New York: Knopf, 1978.

Lowenthal, Marjorie F. and Chiriboga, David. "Transition to the Empty Nest: Crisis, Challenge, or Relief?" *Archives of General Psychiatry,* 26.

Lowenthal, Marjorie F. et al. *Four Stages of Life.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1975.

Lowenthal, Marjorie F. "Intimacy and Crises in Adulthood," *Counseling Psychologist,* 6.

Markus, Hazel. "The Return to School," *Educational Horizons,* 54.

Neugarten, Bernice, et al. *Personality in Middle and Later Life.* New York: Atherton Press, 1964.

Neugarten, Bernice, (Ed.) *Middle Age and Aging.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Neugarten, Bernice and Gutman, David. "Age-Sex Roles and Personality in Middle Age: A Thematic Apperception Study," in *Middle Age and Aging*.

Neugarten, Bernice. "Adaptation and the Life Cycle," *Counseling Psychologist, 6*.

Rosenwald, George C. and Wiersma, Jacquelyn. "The Meaningfulness of Discontinuity: Career Change" Paper presented to the Conference on Phenomenology, School of Education and Department of Philosophy, University of Michigan, May 22, 1977.

Sheehy, Gail. *Passages: Predictable Crises of Adult Life.* New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1976.

Wiersma, Jacquelyn. "Women's Mid-Life Career Change: On the Methodology of Personal Transformation." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1979.

SOCIAL SUPPORT FOR WOMEN IN TRANSITIONS:
CONCEPTUAL CONSIDERATIONS

Sandra Gibbs Candy

Behavioral scientists in recent years have given much attention to the terms "social support" and "support network." Social support has been theoretically and empirically shown to be an important mediating variable in the adjustment to stressful life events and to the maintenance of good physical and mental health. This paper will attempt to conceptualize informal social support (i.e., sources such as spouse, friend, neighbor or other relative) and to explore various influences upon it, such as life course changes, cohort, and historical time. The influences of these variables upon social support theoretically may affect the mediating role social support has upon the adjustment to normative transitions in women's lives.

Social Support. Theorists have conceptualized social support in various ways. Kahn and Quinn (1976) define it as an interpersonal transaction consisting of expressions of positive affect, affirmation and the provision of aid. Cobb (1976) in a similar definition adds that social support also consists of information that leads a person to believe that he or she is cared for, loved, esteemed, valued, and belongs to a network of communication and mutual obligation.

Past research has shown the importance of social support upon adjustment in two ways: (1) the consequences of loss of support among individuals previously supported, and (2) the role of adversive stressful events. The emphasis in this paper will be upon the latter focus.

According to Cobb (1976), social support acts to buffer or reduce the negative effects of situational stresses. For example, women most likely to develop complications during pregnancy and delivery were those with many stress events and low social support (Nuckolls, *et al.*, 1972), while women with high life-stress events but also high social support had as few pregnancy complications as women with low stress events scores.

Lowenthal and Haven (1968) offer further evidence for the buffering hypothesis in older respondents when they reported that the "maintenance of a stable intimate relationship (with a confidante) was more closely associated with good mental health and high morale than was high social interaction, role status or stability in interaction and role." Informal social support (especially relationships with friends) has been shown to be associated with life satisfaction (Lemon *et al.*, 1972), adjustment to widowhood (Blau, 1961: Lowenthal *et al.*, 1967), and adjustment to retirement (Blau, 1973).

It appears that individuals who have social supports available to them fare better not only in terms of higher general life satisfaction, but fare better during stressful times. Social support offers aid in the interpretation of current events, information that could lead to the anticipatory socialization for a future event, emotional assistance, aid in achieving concrete tasks, and supports of one's self-identity or self-concept--which may be a critical function, especially during transitional periods. A close interpersonal relationship may offer a feeling of continuity to an individual who is experiencing the addition or loss of roles or status.

Life-Course Perspective. A life-course perspective has alerted researchers to the importance of social support throughout the life-span. Erikson's theory of development is one example of such a perspective that acknowledges the role of support systems from infancy through old age. Most past research however, has been directed toward quantitative measures of social support, such as the frequency of interaction with relatives, or the number of close friends one sees during the week, while research that focuses upon the qualitative aspects of social support is lacking. As a consequence a sound theoretical perspective for the understanding of social support across the life-course has not yet been developed. Several possible hypotheses may, however, be offered to aid in such an understanding. Some theorists conceptualize development as proceeding from a simple, global, undifferentiated state to a more complex, differentiated and integrated state (Piaget, 1971; Werner, 1957). From this perspective social support may be conceptualized as becoming increasingly more complex with progression through the life-span. Friends, for example, may serve an increasing number of different functions for an individual from young adulthood to old age. Evidence for the support of this hypothesis comes from the cross-sectional research of Weiss and Lowenthal (1975), who reported that friendship complexity increased for respondents from high school through pre-retirement. The only exception to this trend was their middle-aged sample who reported a decrease in complexity. This finding raises the point that life-stage must also be considered when studying support networks. Middle-aged respondents are dealing with different issues than are high school students or newlyweds. Weiss and Lowenthal explain the lowering in friendship complexity among the middle-aged as in part due to the "strong familial focus of the women and the almost obsessive concern of the men with building up security for the retirement phase" (p. 61). The pre-retirees, however, did report an increase in complexity of friendship--in fact the highest score of all age groups.

If in fact the life-stage of an individual affects the usage of social supports, then it is also possible that social supports may differ in terms of the types of functions they serve at different points in the life-span, or in the mediation of different life-transitions. According to Erikson (1950) during middle-age one must attend to the issue of generativity vs. stagnation--that is, one is concerned with the establishment and guidance of the next generation. Empirical research has shown that middle-aged respondents are more involved in helping and understanding relationships than are adolescents and young adults (Haan and Day, 1974; Weiss and Lowenthal, 1975).

With increasing age and progression through the life course, social support changes on various dimensions. Interaction with friends decreases with increasing age because friends move away or die, and older persons have difficulty making new friends (Blau, 1961; Weiss and Lowenthal, 1975). Other studies have reported that older people have more friends than when they were younger, and that older people in good health--therefore more mobile--and with better financial resources are more likely to visit with friends and to make new friends. Friends have been found to contribute more to an older person's morale than children (Blau, 1973), presumably because friendships are voluntary and offer more mutuality than the parent-child relationship.

Friends are particularly important for women. Many researchers have described females' relationships with others as effectively richer than males' (Blau, 1961 and 1973; Booth and Hess, 1974; Candy, 1977; Piliavin and Martin, 1974; Powers and Bultena, 1976) and more stable (Cantor, 1976; Hess, 1977; Weiss and Lowenthal, 1975). Women tend to fulfill their need for emotional intimacy outside of the marital relationship with a same-sex friend, while men seek intimacy within the marriage, turning to the spouse for emotion intimacy (Candy, 1977; Hess, 1977). This difference has several implications for transitional events in the lives of women. The most obvious is that widowhood appears to be a more difficult transition for men than for women (Blau, 1971). Men in general seem only able to satisfy the need for intimacy through remarriage (Lowenthal, *et al.*, 1967) after widowhood.

Theoretically the marital relationship is, of course, a source of social support. Research has shown, however, that the marital relationship changes depending upon the family-stage. Marital satisfaction and companionship are highest in the honeymoon stage. During the child-rearing years the marital relationship becomes subordinate to the demands of child-rearing, with husbands and wives growing apart and marital satisfaction decreasing, only to increase again in the post-parental years (Blood and Wolfe, 1960; Deutscher, 1964; Rollins and Feldman, 1970). However, the spouse as a source of support is lost again with the event of widowhood.

The immediate family is a major source of support, especially for the elderly. An elderly person without family is more likely to be living in an institution than is an elderly person with a family (Shanas, 1979). If an elderly person is sick and is not institutionalized, the spouse is named as the most frequent caretaker, followed by children (Shanas, 1979). If neither spouse nor children are available for support, then the elderly person turns to other kin, such as a sibling. The sibling relationship in adulthood has not received much attention by researchers. It may be a very important source of support, particularly for the never married or widowed person. Female siblings in particular have been shown to have a significant influence on the elderly person's feelings and concerns (Cicirelli, 1977).

Intergenerational research has shown not only a high degree of shared activities and assistance between generations within families (Hill, 1968; Shanas, 1968), but also emotional gratification and feelings of solidarity (Bengston, 1971; Hill, 1968). An individual's place in the life course does affect the type of support that is given, depending upon need. For example, Hill (1968) found that the grandparent generation received help for problems of illness, while the married child generation more frequently needed and received help in child care and economic assistance.

The life-course perspective has shown that social support differs not only in terms of who is providing the support, but of the extensiveness of the support network and the qualitative aspects of support offered, depending upon the stage or issues one is dealing with at different points through the life-cycle.

It might also be hypothesized that transitions differ in terms of the availability of support. Neugarten has written extensively about the timing of events. Any normative transition that is "off time" (either early or late) usually requires a more difficult adjustment. If a woman becomes a widow at 22, she will not find the readily available reference group that the 72 year-old widow will find.

Some transitions, even though stressful, are considered more positive than others, and therefore support is offered more eagerly. The birth of a child brings a woman support from family and friends. However, the death of an infant, the suicide of an adult child, or the loss of a job are events where social support is often either lacking or difficult to find. (In some communities though, special support groups have been formed for individuals undergoing such difficult transitions). The social appropriateness or normativeness and timing of a transition must be considered in the conceptualization of social support.

Cohort. All of the variables attributed thus far to changes in the life course are also influenced by cohort. A cohort consists of individuals born within a certain time period who share a given life experience that is historically or socially structured (Rosow, 1978). Cohort effects are evident if they distinguish one generation from another. It is conceivable that different cohorts cope with similar transitions differently and at the same time employ social support networks differently. Older cohorts alive today differ from younger cohorts in terms of socialization experiences. Some of the problems encountered by older widows may be partially the result of these specific cohort effects. For example, until a few years ago, many older women (65 to 70+) had not been taught how to drive an automobile, a disability that influenced mobility and interaction patterns, particularly after death of spouse. Older cohorts of women alive today may have been socialized to be more dependent than younger women, thus hampering the development of new social relationships when old ones are lost. Older cohorts may have been instructed not to discuss personal problems with others, so that differences may be seen in the choice of target for support in times of need. Older cohorts may not employ informal supports for the same purposes as younger cohorts, or they may deal with transitional times by using entirely different means, such as prayer.

Cohort differences may be evident in the young children today. Perhaps as young boys are increasingly socialized to believe that emotional intimacy is healthy, the sex differences will disappear in this variable in future generations. In addition, as nursery and elementary schools today increasingly emphasize the expression of pro-social behavior, such as sharing and helping, perhaps the importance of friendship will be recognized even more by these young preschool cohorts.

Historical Time. Changes in society may also affect several different age groups alive at the same time. Inflation and the marked increase in women's participation in the labor force are examples of influences which affect everyone alive today. There is an increasing trend for the formation of self-help groups (such as Alcoholics Anonymous, Weight Watchers, Widow-to-Widow) that stress social support. The media have presented viewers with movies that illustrate the importance of friendship during stressful transitions ("Julia" and "An Unmarried Woman"for example). The increasing percentage of women in the work role has presumably increased the opportunity that women have for interpersonal involvement with others. All of these historical influences have undoubtedly affected the types of social networks currently available. Observing current historical trends, it may be hypothesized that informal social support is valued more today than it was 20 years ago.

Researchers need also to be aware of the potential interactions between individual and cultural events, as well as the interaction of historical and concurrent factors. Coping with retirement during a depression, or for a generation that previously experienced a depression, may require different mediators than otherwise might be expected.

Present and Future Implications. Informal social support is an important mediator during potentially stressful life transitions. Yet if successive generations are having a decreasing number of children (Glick, 1979) and if children are a major source of support for the widowed, where will support come from for the elderly in the future? Glick (1979) has projected that by the year 2000, 50 percent of women 65 and over will live alone. This figure has many implications for informal support for the elderly. Future research must take into consideration the quality of support needed to maintain good adjustment, and the effects of cohort and historical time as they interact with changes that occur over the life course.

References

Bengston, V.L. "Inter-age differences in perception and the generation gap." *Gerontologist*, 1971, Part II, 85-90.

Blau, Z. *Old age in a Changing Society*, New York: New Viewpoints, 1973.

Blau, Z. "Structural constraints on friendship in old age." *American Sociological Review*, 1961, 26, 429-439.

Blood, R. O., and Wolfe, D. M. *Husbands and Wives*. New York: The Free Press, 1960.

Booth, A., & Hess, E. "Cross-sex friendship." *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 1974, 2, 38-47.

Candy, S. G. "A comparative analysis of friendship functions in six age groups of men and women." Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Wayne State University, 1977.

Cantor, M. "The configuration and intensity of the informal support system in a New York City, elderly population." Paper presented at the Gerontological Society Annual Meeting, New York City, October, 1976.

Cicirelli, V. "Relationship of siblings to the elderly person's feelings and concerns." *Journal of Gerontology*, 1977, 32, (3), 317-322.

Cobb, S. "Social support as a moderator of life stress." *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 1976, 38, 300-314.

Deutscher, I. "The quality of post-parental life." *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 1964, 26, 52-60.

Erikson, E. H. *Childhood and Society*, N. Y.: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1950.

Glick, P. "The future marital status and living arrangements of the elderly." *Gerontologist*, 1979, 19 (3), 301-309.

Haan, N., and Day, D. "A longitudinal study of change and sameness in personality development: adolescence to later adulthood." *Journal of Aging and Human Development*, 1974, 5, 12-39.

Hess, B. "Sex roles, life course and friendship." Presented for Western College Alumnae Association. Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, June 21, 1977.

Hill, R. "Decision making and the family life cycle." In B. Neugarten (Ed.), *Middle Age and Aging*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Kahn, R. L., & Quinn, R. P. "Mental health, social support & metropolitan problems." Research proposal, University of Michigan, 1976.

Lemon, B. W., Bengston, V. and Peterson, J. "An exlanation of the activity theory of aging: activity types and life satisfaction among in-movers to a retirement community." *Journal of Gerontology*, 1972, 27, 511-523.

Lowenthal, M.F., Berkman, P. L., et al . *Aging and Mental Disorder in San Francisco*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1967.

Lowenthal, M. F. and Haven. C. "Interaction and adaptation: intimicy as a critical variable." In B. L. Neugarted (Ed.), *Middle Age and Aging*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968, 390-400.

Nuckolls, K. B., Cassel, J., & Kaplan, B. H. "Psychosocial assets, life crisis, and the prognosis of pregnancy." *American Journal of Epidemiology*, 1972, 95, 431-441.

Piaget, J. "Piaget's Theory." In P. Mussen (Ed.), *Charmichael's Manual of Child Psychology*. N. Y.: J. Wiley, 1970.

Piliavin, J. & Martin, R. "The effect of the sex composition of groups on style and social interaction." Unpublished manuscript, University of Wisconsin, 1974.

Powers, E. and Bultena, G. "Sex differences in intimate friendships of old age." *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 1976, Nov., 739-747.

Rollins, B.C., and Feldman, H. "Marital satisfaction over the life cycle." *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 1970, 32 (1), 20-28.

Rosow, I. "What is a cohort and why?" *Human Development*, 1978, 21, 65-75.

Shanas, E. "The family as a social support system in old age." *Gerontologist*, 1979, 19,(2), 169-174.

Shanas, E., Townsend, P., Wedderburn, D., Friis, H., Milhhoj, R. and Stehouver, J. *Older People in three Industrial Societies*, New York: Atherton Press, 1968.

Weiss, L. and Lowenthal, M. F. "Life course perspectives on friendship." In M. F. Lowenthal, M. Thurnker and D. Chinnoga (Eds.), *Four Stages of Life*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1975, 48-61.

Werner, H. "The concept of development from a comparative and organismic point of view." In D. Harris (Ed.), *The Concept of Development: An Issue in the Study of Human Behavior*. U. of Minnesota Press, 1957, 125-148.

SOCIAL SUPPORT FOR WOMEN IN TRANSITION:
SOME DATA

Jan Beals and Toni Antonucci

The purpose of this research project, "Attachment in the Aging Process: A Lifespan Approach"* is to extend the concept of attachment from the mother-child bonding relationship to a lifespan concept.

Surveys Used. For this paper, three data sets were used, two of which were national surveys, the other a regional Detroit Area Study; all three surveys were conducted by the Institute for Social Research. These three--Americans View their Mental Health 1976 (AVMH), Quality of American Life 1971 (QAL) and the Detroit Family Growth Study 1962 (FG)--were chosen because together they covered some major transitions in women's lives.

AVMH, initially conducted in 1957 and replicated in 1976, was designed to assess people's own evaluations of their mental health and the way they handled their problems. To the questionnaire focussing on various areas of life--including marriage, parenthood, the work situation and the general social relationships--were added in 1976 measures of self esteem, depression and self efficacy. The national probability sample of 2,300 respondents included 1,304 women. For this paper, only the 1976 data were used.

The QAL Survey (1971) was designed to measure respondents' perceptions of their socio-psychological condition, their needs and expectations from life and the degree to which these needs are satisfied. Data were collected from a national probability sample of

---

*This project is funded by the National Institute of Aging and is directed by Toni Antonucci.

2,164 persons aged 18 years and older, of whom 1,259 were women.

The sample for the Family Growth study (1962) consisted of 1,311 married white women in the Detroit metropolitan area who had recently given birth to either their first, second or fourth child. During this first interview, extensive information was collected about attitudes toward childbearing, organization of the family, as well as the characteristics, attitudes and behavior of both husband and wife.

Measuring Social Supports. Kahn and Quinn (1976) define social support as an interpersonal transaction consisting of expressions of positive affect, affirmation and the provision of aid. The initial step in our analysis was to sift through the three data sets, choose any items that seemed to measure social supports and items that could be easily used in the analysis.

In the AVMH and QAL data sets the items chosen as dependent variables dealt with the respondents' relationships and satisfactions with friends, neighbors, relatives, with their marriages and children. In the Family Growth study, the dependent variables focussed on supports available to the new mother; for example, having relatives nearby, whether her mother helped with the baby, whether she visited friends and relatives more or less after the baby's arrival, and what aid her relatives had given.

Transitions. Initially we obtained frequencies of any variables that might mark transitions in women's lives, for example, marriage, termination of marriage, parenthood, changes in work status, length in the community and education. From these frequencies we chose three transitions that were measured by at least two of the data sets:

1. Birth of a first child within the past year and a half;
2. Divorce, separation or widowhood in the past year and a half;
3. Transition or planned transition of a housewife from home to work.

These three transitions were explored in a series of bivariate tables with each of the social support dependent variables. Where the chi-square pointed to a strong significant relationship, the table was examined. This very simple analysis yielded some strong and theoretically interesting results. In Tables 1 to 3 the findings are displayed according to the data set in which they were found. In the following paragraphs these results are summarized.

Recently having first child (Table 1). It seems obvious that having her first child is a dramatic transition for nearly every woman. Suddenly she is responsible for another person, and one who is initially helpless and in need of constant attention. She feels unprepared and seeks help and advice from others. For many women this period signals a change from the role of daughter to that of mother. Often the pattern of interaction with her husband changes. If the mother is a working woman, her career is interrupted at least briefly, if not put aside altogether.

Our results support many of these intuitions. Women who have just had their first child are more likely than other mothers to receive help in caring for the house and family just after the baby is born, help most frequently given by the woman's mother. The new mother reports relying on her relatives more than on her friends, and these relatives give aid mostly in the form of babysitting and related activities.

The new mother also feels that she has a good many friends; she is more likely than other women to visit with her friends daily, using these friends as a sounding board in talking over her problems.

Yet even though her relatives and friends rally around the new mother, she often--paradoxically--feels isolated. She reports that she met with her friends more often before the baby was born. She doesn't know her neighbors well and generally doesn't have as many friends as she would like.

The new mother is more likely than other women to feel inadequate as a spouse. It seems possible that the child takes so much of her time that she cannot spend the time she would like to spend with her husband.

Recently Divorced/Separated/Widowed (Table 2). The termination of a woman's marriage, whether because of death or divorce, is surely a difficult transition. Not only does the woman lose her husband but her relationships with others change as well. Suddenly she is the only parent to her children. If she has been a housewife, she may suddenly be faced with the prospect of entering the job market.

Obviously the transition to widowhood is not identical to that of a divorced person. When one's spouse dies, one is more likely to feel helpless; one may also receive more sympathy from others for this reason. A divorce is more likely to produce bitterness and anger, as well as a sense of failure. Our analysis will allow us to contrast what divorced and widowed women report.

Women who had recently been divorced or separated were more likely than other women to report that marriage is not too important to them. Newly divorced women are more likely to meet with their friends daily than are women who have been divorced longer; at the same time they feel they can't count on people and that no one cares about them.

On the other hand, a different picture emerges when we look at women who have been recently widowed. These women are less happy overall than are either non-widows or those who have been widowed for a longer time. Like recently divorced women, they feel that marriage is not too important to them. They seem to feel isolated; they are less likely to feel that life is friendly. Yet although they report having fewer good friends, nevertheless widows say they are more likely to discuss their problems with their friends. They think that both having good friends and belonging to organizations are important. Perhaps they see these organizations as a place to meet new people.

One particularly interesting finding is that recently widowed women report enjoying parenthood more than others in the study, and they are more likely than other women to say that their children are very important to them.

Housewives who want to or plan to work (Table 3). Finally, we looked at a group of women who might not be in a period of transition but who anticipate such a transition in the future: housewives who want to work and/or plan to work in the future. One might guess that these women are dissatisfied with their roles as housewives and perhaps with their lives in general.

Housewives who want to work are dissatisfied with the friendships they have, are more likely than other housewives to feel that life is unfriendly, and are very interested in meeting new people. They wish that people listened to them more.

Housewives who want to work seem to have some problems in their marriages: they are more likely to feel alienated from their spouses; they are also more likely to say that their husbands do not understand them and that they do not understand their husbands. Similarly, they are more likely to feel frequently irritated with their husbands.

These housewives are less satisfied with parenthood too. They report that they don't always enjoy being a parent, and they feel that their children prevent them from doing some of the things they would like to do.

Conclusion. This study represents a preliminary step in our analysis. In the future we hope to compare these women with various reference groups; for instance, we plan to compare the housewives who want to work not only with other housewives but also with working women. These analyses should also be taken a step further to determine how important the presence or absence of social support is to the general life satisfaction and happiness of the women in transition.

In surveying the results it is encouraging that the parallel analyses of different data sets did not produce conflicting results. Although we did not distinguish between data sets in our discussion, Table 1 displays the results by data set. Given the congruence of the results plus the fact that we were conservative in our acceptance of the results, we can be relatively certain that the findings are indicative of how these women feel.

Some of the results are thought provoking. Even though the three transitions are very different in nature, there are some common points. The women's husbands do not seem to be strong sources of support either for the new mothers or for the housewives (and obviously not for those who are divorced or widowed). Children are important to recent widows--but are hindrances to women who want to work.

In all three transitions, the women are likely to discuss their problems with their friends. They feel that friendship is important and they want to have more friends. In all these transitions the women seem to be reaching out to others and to depend on people as social supports.

TABLE 1

Differences in Social Support Measures: Recently Having First Child

AVMH Survey

Women who recently had their first child--

1. Are less likely to say that they frequently do things for others;
2. Are less likely to say that they know many of their friends well;
3. Are more likely to say that they have a good many friends and relatives;
4. Report a higher frequency of physical affection;
5. Say they talk over their problems with friends more;
6. Report increasing irritation with spouse as the length of parenthood increases;
7. Are most likely to say they have confidence in their own lives;
8. Are more likely to say that it is "not very true" that they wished people liked them more.

Detroit Family Growth Study

Women who have recently had their first child--

1. Are more likely to have had someone help them--especially their mothers;
2. Are less likely to have married siblings in Detroit;
3. Are more likely to see their mothers daily and to see her at least weekly;
4. Are more likely to have mothers living in Detroit;
5. Are less likely to spend their free time with their family;
6. Are more likely to get together with relatives at least weekly;
7. Always take the child with them when visiting relatives;
8. Are more likely to visit with others at least weekly;
9. Are more likely to see friends less frequently than after the baby arrived;
10. Are more likely to rely on relatives for help and services.

TABLE 2

Differences in Social Support Measures

Divorced/Separated/Widowed Women

AVMH

Women recently divorced or separated

1. Are more likely to say that they meet with their friends daily;
2. Report that they do not know whom they can count on, and this feeling increases with length of separations;
3. Report that the feeling that no one cares decreases with length of separation.

QAL

Women recently divorced or separated--

1. Are less likely than married people to say that marriage is extremely important.

AVMH

Recently widowed women--

1. Are more likely to say that they very frequently talk over their problems with their friends.

QAL

Recently widowed women--

1. Are less likely to report life as being friendly;
2. Are less likely to say that they spend their spare time with people;
3. Are less likely to say that they are completely satisfied with their spare time;
4. Report that the number of good friends increases with length of widowhood;
5. Report that interest in meeting new people decreases with length of widowhood;
6. Report that satisfaction with friendships increases with time;
7. Are much less likely to say that they wish they were free of parental responsibility;
8. Are more likely to believe it is important to belong to organizations;
9. Are less likely to believe that marriage is important than women who have been widowed for a longer period;
10. Are more likely to say that having good friends is important;
11. Are least likely to belong to clubs.

TABLE 3

Differences in Social Support Measures:

Women Who Want to Work and/or Plan to Work

AVMH Survey

Women who ever wanted a career--

1. Are more likely to belong to a group;
2. Are less likely to be satisfied with their number of friends;
3. Are more likely to feel that children sometimes prevent them from doing things.

AVMH Survey

Women who plan to work in the future--

1. Are less likely to have a "good many" friends;
2. Are less likely to be satisfied with their number of friends;
3. More often say that they are sometimes irritated with their spouse;
4. Are more likely to say they are upset about sex;
5. Are more likely to say that children sometimes prevent them from doing things;
6. Are less likely to say that it's very true that they are confident in their own lives;
7. Are more likely to say that it's not very true that they wish people liked them more, and are less likely to say it's not at all true.

QAL

Women who would work if they had the chance--

1. Are less likely to be satisfied with neighbors;
2. Are less likely to say life is friendly;
3. Are less likely to report complete satisfaction with spare time;
4. Are more likely to say they are interested in meeting new people;
5. Are less likely to say they are completely satisfied with their friendships;
6. Are less apt to say that they and their spouse understand one another;
7. Are less likely to say that they always enjoy being a parent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Blau, Z. "Structural Constraints on Friendship in Old Age." *American Sociological Review* 1961, *26*, 429-439.

Blau, Z. *Old Age in a Changing Society*. New York: New Viewpoints, 1973.

Cobb, S. "Social Support as a Moderator of Life Stress." *Psychosomatic Medicine* 1976, *38*, 300-314.

Lowenthal, M. F. and Haven, C. "Interaction and Adaptation: Intimacy as a Critical Variable." In B. L. Neugarten (Ed.), *Middle Age and Aging*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968, 390-400.

SEX DIFFERENCES IN ADJUSTMENT TO WIDOWHOOD

Suzanne Kunkel Adlon

In the literature on adjustment to widowhood, there are those who describe the greater difficulties of male survivors and there are those who outline the problems of female survivors, but direct comparisons of widows and widowers are rare. This study was designed to make such a comparison. The dimensions on which the widows and widowers were compared are those suggested as important by Berardo's work on the problems of male survivors and by the writings of Lopata, Atchley, and Bell on the problems facing female survivors. Specifically, some of the areas examined are: interaction with family and friends, health, loneliness, overall adjustment (which have been described as greater problems for widowers), and income (which is typically seen as the greatest problem for widows).

The data used for this research were gathered as part of a study of the impact of retirement on aging and adaptation.* Data for this study were obtained from questionnaires mailed to about 1,650 people aged 50 and older, who were residents of a rural township in the Midwest. There were approximately 1,100 returns, and of these respondents, 161 were widowed: 138 women and 23 men. The respondents ranged in age from 50 to 94.

In order to determine the existence, degree, and direction of sex differences among widowed persons, partial correlations were used. Partial correlations have the advantage of allowing for control of significant variables that might influence the relationship of interest. In this study, three controls were used: age, length of time widowed, and social status. Age was controlled since widowers tend to be older than widows. Length of time widowed was controlled, because it was assumed that recent widows and widowers (those widowed one year or less) would have problems different from those of people widowed longer. Social status was controlled, because of its potential effect on health, friendship patterns, and morale. Partial correlations were also computed for the married respondents to determine if any differences observed between widows and widowers might actually reflect sex differences that exist for all marital statuses.

---

*This study is being conducted by the Scripps Foundation and is funded by the National Institute of Mental Health.

The most significant findings in the study were in the areas of interaction, morale, health, stress, and income. These areas will now be reviewed in terms of measures used and results obtained.

Morale. Morale was measured using Lawton's morale scale, and was used as the indicator of overall adjustment. There were no significant differences between widows and widowers on morale, and the majority of both groups had high morale. Two commonly cited assumptions about widowhood are unsupported by these data: widowers were not more likely to experience low morale or poor adjustment, and the majority of widowed people in this study had a positive outlook on life.

Besides the scale scores for morale, two individual items from the morale scale were examined: "How much do you feel lonely?" ("Not much" or "A lot"), and "How satisfied are you with your life today?" ("Satisfied" or "Not satisfied"). Again, there were no significant differences between widows and widowers. The majority of both groups were satisfied with their lives, and about 75 percent of the women and 80 percent of the men said that they were not lonely very much of the time. The widowed persons were, however, somewhat more lonely than the married group--about 95 percent of the married men and women said they were not lonely very much. Even though the widowed persons in this study are more lonely than the married respondents, over three-fourths of them are not very lonely. This finding is in contrast to earlier reserach by Blau and Lopata in which loneliness is a major problem for widows. This discrepancy may be explained in part by rural-urban, city size, and regional differences. Lopata's widows, half of whom have trouble with feelings of loneliness, were from a very large city; most of them reported being afraid to go out at night, and many said they do not drive. All of these factors would certainly tend to contribute to feelings of loneliness and isolation.

Stress. The next variable to be considered is stress. Stress is defined as a psychophysical reaction to a disruptive event, manifesting in certain predictable physiological symptoms. The most common of these symptoms are: change in appetite, unintentional change in weight, and sleep disturbance. Based on these factors, respondents were asked to indicate whether their appetites were increasing, decreasing, or remaining the same; whether they were gaining weight, losing weight, or remaining about the same; whether their weight gain or loss, if any, was intentional; and how often they have trouble sleeping (ranging from almost never to nearly always).

A marked difference was found between the widows and widowers in this study on the dimension of stress, in the direction opposite to that suggested by Berardo and popular literature. The women were significantly more likely to experience the stress-related symptoms described above. This sex difference exists between married men and women also, but to a lesser degree, so that widowhood apparently increases the differences between men and women on the dimension of stress.

Since the difference between men and women on stress was so contrary to popular notions about men having to endure greater stress throughout the life span, and since the difference between widows and widowers was so great, the issue was considered in more detail. Because three of the four stress items dealt with weight gain or loss and appetite changes, it was considered that perhaps women paid more attention to these issues and that men might be more likely to ignore or be unaware of weight changes that might seem important to a woman.

However, looking at the stress items individually revealed that it was *not* the weight/appetite questions on which the men and women differed significantly; there was only about a 5 to 10 percent difference between the proportions of men and women (both married and widowed) who experienced a change in appetite or an unintentional change in weight. The stress symptom that accounted for the largest difference between the men and women in this study was the experience of a sleep disturbance.

These findings on stress seem to indicate that women are more likely to experience the physiological concomitants of stress than are men, and this difference is greater between widowed men and women than between married men and women. This larger difference may in part be attributable to the vast changes and new responsibilities to which a widow must adjust. The general difference between men and women on stress may also be explained by a basic difference in the sleep patterns of men and women (suggesting that sleep disturbance is not a reliable indicator of stress), but the fact that the difference becomes more exaggerated in widowhood suggests that stress may indeed be the explanation. Holmes and Masuda have found that, in fact, death of spouse is the foremost stress-producing event in a person's life. Concluding that widows do experience more stress-related physiological changes than do widowers, it is interesting to note that the substantial difference in stress does not translate into differences in morale or health.

We have already noted the lack of difference between widows and widowers on morale, and, based on a self-rated health question, there was also no significant difference between widows and widowers on the dimension of physical health. About 70 percent of both groups reported good or very good health.

Income. The next area to be considered is that of income. Because of a great deal of missing data, information on actual dollars-per-year income is unfortunately unavailable. Instead, widows and widowers were compared on the basis of a subjective assessment of income adequacy. Respondents were asked, "Do you consider your current family income enough to meet your living expenses?". There was no significant difference between widows and widowers on this question. About 75 percent of both groups agreed that their incomes are adequate. Because this is such an important area, the information on income adequacy was supplemented with a comparison of widows and widowers on social status. Social status was measured with a modified version of the Hollingshead Two-Factor Index of Social Position. Widows had significantly lower social status than did widowers, and there were four times more men than women in the high social status category. It is interesting that, even though widows tend to have lower social status (and very probably lower incomes), they are not more likely to see their incomes as inadequate.

Interaction. The final area to be reviewed is interaction. Based on the item from the Lawton Morale Scale, "I see enough of my friends and relatives," there is a substantial difference between widows and widowers. Eighty-two percent of the men agreed that they see enough of friends and relatives, while only forty-seven percent of the women agreed. This general finding contradicts the literature which suggests that widowers are more isolated from family and friends. A closer examination of the issue is warranted, however, since there are several distinct facets of the dimension of interaction.

Four questions require separate attention: 1) How often do you see your friends and neighbors? 2) How often do you see your relatives? 3) How satisfied are you with how often you see your neighbors and friends?, and 4) How satisfied are you with how often you see your family? Respondents were asked to rate the frequency of their interaction with friends and neighbors (very often to never) and the frequency of their interaction with children and grandchildren (very often to never). They were asked to indicate whether or not they wished to engage in either of these activities more frequently. In the area of interaction with friends and neighbors, widows had significantly more frequent contact than did widowers, but there was no difference between widows and widowers on the desire for more contact with these people. Thus widowers are just as satisfied with less contact than widows have. It is also important to note that the difference in amount of contact exists for married respondents also: married men saw significantly less of friends and neighbors than did married women, indicating that widowhood does not introduce sex differences in interaction patterns with friends and neighbors. Men in general seem to be well-satisfied with less contact.

In terms of interaction with children and grandchildren, there was no significant difference between widows and widowers in the amount of contact, but widows were much more likely to say they wanted to see them more frequently (31 percent of the women vs. 17 percent of the men indicated a desire for greater frequency of contact with children and grandchildren). Thus in the case of interaction with family, widowers were significantly more satisfied than widows with essentially the same amount of contact.

These findings clearly demonstrate the importance of considering the issues of frequency of interaction and satisfaction with those levels of contact separately. The frequency of interaction data do, to a certain extent, support the position that widowers are somewhat more isolated from friends and neighbors than are widows. However, the data on satisfaction with level of contact indicate that widowers are quite content with how frequently they see family and friends. This finding strongly suggests that "isolation" can be totally unrelated to loneliness, dissatisfaction, or poor adjustment. While widowers may be somewhat more isolated (if isolation is defined in terms of amount of outside contact), this clearly is not a problem for most of them.

In summary, the widowed persons in this study tend to be satisfied with their lives, are healthy, have good morale, have adequate incomes, and are not very lonely, and there are no significant differences between widows and widowers on these dimensions. Differences were found, however, in the areas of stress, social status, and interaction patterns.

Clark and Anderson stated, "It is hard to assess which status is more burdensome--widow or widower. Each sex has its own special set of adaptive tasks." This study yields a very positive view of adjustment, and according to the results, each sex apparently makes needed adaptations quite successfully. Since good health and an adequate income have been found to be directly related to high morale and to involvement with family and friends, it is not surprising to have observed high levels of interaction and good morale among this population, which also reports a high prevalence of good health and sufficient incomes. These two factors, health and income, along with geographic variables (region, city size, and rural v. urban) might partly explain the difference in the findings of this study from those of previous research (expecially Blau and Lopata), which emphasized the loneliness and poor morale of widowed persons.

Morgan has suggested that we begin to study the *problems of widowhood* instead of *widowhood as a problem*. The foregoing analyses support this proposition in that the potential difficulties faced by widowed persons are varied, they are dependent on a number of factors, and they are not predictable effects of widowhood *per se*. Those who might have trouble adjusting to widowhood are those who would be likely to have difficulties regardless of marital status--that is, those with poor health and/or inadequate income. The distinction between the adjustment of widows and the adjustment of widowers is valid only to the extent that these two variables--adequate income and good health--are functions of the sex of the survivor.

NOTE

A more complete and technical version of this paper can be obtained by writing to the author.

Bibliography

Adler, Leta M. "The relationship of marital status to the incidence of and recovery from mental illness." *Social Forces* 32, 1953: 185-194.

Ariing, Greg. "Resistance to isolation among elderly widows." *Aging and Human Development* 7 (1), 1976: 67-86.

Atchley, Robert C. "Dimensions of widowhood in later life." *The Gerontologist* 15 (2), 1975: 176-178.

The Sociology of Retirement. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman, 1976.

The Social Forces in Later Life. 2nd ed. Belmont, Ca.: Wadsworth, 1977.

Predictors of morale. Paper presented at the 30th annual Scientific Meeting of the Gerontological Society. San Francisco, 1977.

Bell, Robert R. *Marriage and Family Interaction.* 3rd ed. Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey, 1971.

Berardo, Felix M. "Widowhood status in the U.S.: a perspective on a neglected aspect of the family life cycle." *Family Coordinator* 17, 1968: 191-203.

"Survivorship and social isolation: the case of the aged widower." *Family Coordinator* 19, 1970: 11-25.

Blau, Zena. "Structural constraints on friendship in old age." *American Sociological Review* 26, 1961: 429-439.

Chatfield, Walter F. "Economic and sociological factors influencing life satisfaction of the aged." *Journal of Gerontology* 32 (5), 1977: 593-599.

Clark, Margaret and Barbara Anderson. *Culture and Aging.* Springfield, Illinois: Thomas, 1967.

Cleveland, William P. and Daniel T. Gianturco. "Remarriage probability after widowhood: a retrospective method." *Journal of Gerontology* 31 (1), 1976: 99-103.

Glick, Ira O., Robert S. Weiss, and C. Murrary Parkes. *The First Year of Bereavement.* New York: Wiley, 1974.

Hollingshead, August B. *Two-Factor Index of Social Position.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale Station, 1957.

Holmes, Thomas H. and Richard H. Rahe. "The social readjustment rating scale." *Journal of Psychosomatic Research* 11, 1967: 213-218.

Lawton, M. Powell. "The dimensions of morale." In Kent, Kastenbaum, and Sherwood (Eds.), *Research Planning and Action for the Elderly.* New York: Behavioral Publications, 1972.

Lopata, Helena Z. "Widows as minority groups." *The Gerontologist* 11, 1971: 67-77.

Widowhood in an American City. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman, 1973.

Women as Widows. New York: Elsevier, 1979.

Morgan, Leslie. "A re-examination of widowhood and morale." *Journal of Gerontology* 31 (6), 1976: 687-695.

Nye, Ivan F. and Felix M. Berardo. *The Family: Its Structure and Interaction.* New York: MacMillan, 1973.

Rosenberg, Morris. *The Logic of Survey Analysis.* New York: Basic Books, 1968.

Schulz, James. *The Economics of Aging.* Belmont, Ca.: Wadsworth, 1976.

Troll, Lillian. "The family in later life: a decade review." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 33, 1971: 263-290.

Zung, William K. "A self-rating depression scale." *Archives of General Psychiatry* 12, 1965: 63-70.

COPING PATTERNS IN WIDOWHOOD

Joanne Baum

To date, the area of widowhood has been investigated from two overlapping perspectives: first, the identification of problems widows encounter and the effect certain background and attitudinal variables have on the problems; and second, description of current services offered to widows. Literature based on the first perspective utilizes a problem-solving perspective in suggesting services and resources that might alleviate the problems. Literature dealing with current services is relatively small (Abrahams, 1971; Barrett, 1973, 1976; and Silverman, 1974), reflecting the absence of programs designed specifically for a widowed population.

What is lacking is a study that uses a holistic approach to examine widowhood, exploring the problems widows encounter, the services and resources they utilize in efforts to cope with their problems, and how their coping abilities vary according to their background and attitudinal characteristics. Because of our incomplete picture, widowhood has been characterized as a relatively neglected area of study by social scientists.

The number of widows, however, has been steadily increasing in the population of older Americans (Berardo, 1967). The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company (1962) reported that during the previous two decades, the number of widows grew by more than 100,000 a year. The 1970 Census reveals that there are twelve million widowed persons in this country, representing a sizeable minority--five percent of our total population. Of this twelve million, ten million are widowed women. The average duration of widowhood for widows who do not marry and who die from natural causes is 18½ years (Carter and Glick, 1970). If present projections for increased longevity prove true, it is entirely possible that the length of this period may increase.

Why has the area of widowhood been relatively neglected by social scientists? A combination of three factors may be responsible for the current gap in research. The first factor to be considered is the societal "death taboo" (Berardo, 1968; Kubler-Ross, 1969; Lopata, 1971a, 1971b, 1972, 1973d, 1975). The area of death and dying, as an event and as a process, had been neglected until Kubler-Ross (1969) began to explore the process of dying and various means to alleviate the psychological pain of the identified patient and/his/her family. Widowhood is triggered by the death of a spouse, so that one cannot examine widowhood without examining the areas of death and bereavement.

The second factor that may account for the neglect of widowhood is what gerontologists have labelled our "youth-oriented culture" (Puner, 1974; Butler, 1975) in this country. Most of the widowed population are over sixty-five and thus an age factor or "ageism" may contribute to a lack of interest in this population. In addition, societal norms encourage remarriage as a solution to the problems of widows while ignoring the fact that older widows outnumber older widowers by a ratio of four to one. In addition, widowers usually marry women somewhat younger than themselves (Bengston, 1977; and Cleveland, 1976.

The third factor that may contribute to the lack of research on widowhood is the couples orientation of our society, resulting in the exclusion of single adults, who are often viewed as a threat to a secure marriage(Barrett, 1973, 1976; Barrett and Snyder, 1976; Caine, 1975; Lopata, 1971a, 1971b, 1972, 1973c, 1973d, 1975; and Silverman, 1967).

Because of these three factors--the death taboo, the youth orientation and the couples orientation of our society--the widowed population has been classified as an "invisible minority," (Lopata, 1971b). An awareness of the fact that three-quarters of American women will experience at least seven to ten years of widowhood makes it imperative that the problems of this "invisible minority" be researched and understood.

While the literature (Barrett, 1973, 1976; Berardo, 1968; Lopata, 1973d; and Silverman, 1967, 1970, 1974) suggests that widowhood can be viewed as a crisis, that crisis can, with time, become either a positive growth-producing experience (Lopata, 1973c, 1973d, 1975) or it can be a negative experience resulting in a great deal of psychological pain and even mental illness (Barrett, 1973, 1976; Berardo, 1968; Lopata, 1971a, 1971b, 1973c, 1973d, 1975; Silverman, 1967, 1970, 1974; and Woodruff, 1975). Gerald Caplan described the process in this way (Silverman, 1974):

> The death of a spouse is for most people a traumatic event that produces drastic changes in almost every aspect of life. In addition

> to the immediate pain, it leads to prolonged psychological and social burdens. Our Harvard researchers have shown that this crisis and its aftermath increase the risk of mental and physical disorder in the survivors. We have also discovered that, as in other crises the painful process of adjustment also provides an opportunity for many widows and widowers to gain in maturity, to develop psychologically, to be tempered by the fire.

Widowhood represents a challenge to professionals in the fields of social welfare and mental health who are concerned with maintaining or improving the level of psychological and social functioning in the community.

Method. This exploratory research project examined widowhood from a holistic approach by identifying specific problems widows encountered and how they coped with each problem encountered. A concept entitled "coping patterns" defined as a set of resources utilized by widows in efforts to alleviate a problem they have encountered was developed to facilitate this process.

Subjects. A systematic randomized sampling procedure without replacement was employed, utilizing the Madison (Wis.) City Directory in order to approximate a representative probability sample, with a sample pool of 410 names.

The mean age for the sample was 67.5 years. Eight percent of the respondents were young widows (under 55); 28 percent were middle aged (55 to 64); while 64 percent were 65 or older. The majority (67 percent) of respondents were not currently working although they had worked; 65 percent held white collar jobs. Seventy-four percent of the respondents had received at least a high school education. The median income was reported to be approximately $8,000 a year. The respondents yielded a mean number of 2.4 living children. The two main religious preferences were Protestant and Catholic.

Procedure. Interviews took place in the widows' homes and were conducted by six older women, aged 66 to 76, who were themselves widowed. These women were trained by the researcher in the use of he structured interview schedule through role-playing and behavioral rehearsal techniques. Seven training sessions, each two to three hours in length, were conducted. Frequent phone contacts with interviewers during the interviewing process were maintained to reinforce training and help them clarify problems that arose.

The first question asked the widows to identify from a list of 25 potential problems, problems they had encountered since becoming widowed. Interviewers listed all problems mentioned and then asked a probing question to encourage further responses. In the second question widows were asked to look at a list of 25 resources and to identify all the resources they used with each problem.

After the data were coded, principal components analysis was used to produce seven factors associated with grief and seven factors associated with loneliness. The researcher utilized the factor loading scores to determine which variables in each factor would compose a coping pattern.

Results. Seven coping patterns emerged as methods for handling grief: (1) "activities" involving participation in voluntary associations, meeting new people, and travel; (2) "friendship network" involving friends and neighbors; (3) "my own and a physician's care"; (4) "extended family network" including siblings and in-laws; (5) "children," a singular item pattern; (6) "respected associates," including parents and a physician; and (7) "religion," another single item pattern referring to use of church or church resources. These seven coping patterns explained 72 percent of the total variance in coping with grief.

These widows also named seven coping patterns they used to combat loneliness: (1) "neighbors and travel", the only pattern for loneliness that does not include at least one family member; (2) "family and friendship networks," involving siblings, children, and friends; (3) "family and activities," composed of parents, voluntary associations, travel, and extended family; (4) "work and extended family" involving working and extended family members; (5) "activities and friends," consisting of church, voluntary associations, and friends; (6) "myself and voluntary associations," involving using themselves and participation in voluntary associations; (7) "family network," involving in-laws and children as the chosen resources. These seven coping patterns explained 75 percent of the total variance in coping with loneliness.

The coping patterns used with loneliness are not as distinct as those used with grief, which may reflect the fact that loneliness is a more generalized problem than grief (Slater, 1976). Family members and friends remained important resources in widows' coping patterns.

Discussion. "Activities," the resources named in the first coping pattern for grief, has been identified in the literature as necessary for re-engagement. Silverman (1974) reports that most people utilizing the widowed-service-line (a hot-line telephone service) asked how they could meet new people and establish new relationships. Widows utilizing this pattern may be a few steps ahead of the widows Silverman reports who feel lost and need to learn re-engagement skills.

The second coping pattern for grief, "friendship network," reveals that sampled widows were able to call upon their friends and neighbors, even though data from this study do not reveal whether this help was solicited by the widows or was voluntarily given. This is an interesting finding since the literature reports that widows are isolated from former friends and often feel like a "fifth wheel" (Silverman, 1974; Caine, 1975; and Lopata, 1975).

The third pattern, "myself and a physician's care," suggests that seeing a doctor is a rather private matter for widows, since it is one of the only patterns that does not include family members, friends or neighbors. The use of a physician in two of these seven patterns might suggest that some widows manifest psychosomatic ailments during their grief state.

Pattern four, "extended family network," includes brothers- and sisters-in-law, as well as mothers- and fathers-in-law. The raw data suggest a much higher usage of brothers- and sisters-in-law than of parents-in-law. Thus the people who provided support in this pattern tend to be the widow's peers.

Pattern five, "children," reveals a major difference between this and previous studies; widows in Madison, Wisconsin, appear to use their children to a greater degree than previously studied widowed populations, perhaps because of differences in sample characteristics, most notably the high educational, occupational, and income levels of the present sample.

Pattern six, "respected associates," might suggest that widows used these people for advice. Additional explanations of this usage might be that younger widows used their parents for babysitting, or perhaps they wanted their parents present to consult with their physician about problems associated with grief.

The use of church in the seventh coping pattern for grief reflects the raw data, in which many widows report their church, religion, or priest was very comforting to them during their difficult period of bereavement.

In coping with grief the sample widows primarily used resources within the following categories: family network; religion; friendship network; themselves; and a physician, relying on both informal and formal support networks.

The first pattern used with loneliness, "neighbors and travel," is the most out-going pattern, using resources not emotionally close yet physically close to the widows. All other patterns for loneliness utilize at least one family member, friendship network member, or self while this one used only neighbors.

In the second coping pattern for loneliness, "family and friendship networks," widows combined two networks, which were used separately for grief, into one pattern used to alleviate loneliness. The importance of family members is again apparent in the third coping pattern, "family and activities," and in the fourth pattern, "work and extended family." Widows in this study stated that work got them out of the home into a situation where they saw other people. In this way, they had the opportunity to talk to people outside the family and to gain more objective listeners. Widows who were afraid of over-burdening their family used work acquaintances to share their problems. In addition, widows reported that work occupied their minds with things other than themselves and their suffering.

"Activities and friends," the fifth coping pattern for loneliness, also involved the widow leaving her house and suggests that widows have friends in the voluntary associations they attend. Pattern six, involving "myself and voluntary associations," suggests a difference from pattern five, which involves using their own initiative to a greater degree. Thus, their choice may reflect a greater degree of independence in the participating widows.

The last coping pattern used with loneliness is a "family network" consisting of their children and in-laws. This again suggests the importance of family members to widows' coping abilities. It appears that the sample widows relied more heavily on informal resources with loneliness than they did with grief.

Conclusions. The informal resources largely composing the coping patterns used with grief and loneliness provide evidence of major differences between the present sample population and those of Berardo's (1967) Washington study, Lopata's (1969, 1973, 1974, and 1976) Chicago studies, and Silverman's (1974) Boston study. These three researchers reported widows as being isolated from family members and friends. The widows studied in Madison, Wisconsin, appear to be utilizing established ties (family members and friends) in their attempts to cope with the problems of grief and loneliness; and apparently the most important (by sheer usage) is a widow's family network.

These differences may be due, in part, to the present sample characteristics, which revealed unusually high income, occupation, and education levels. It has been reported that widows with higher socio-economic status have more skills for re-engagement and can better cope with the transition from wife to widow than lower class widows. The present study apparently confirms these findings.

Bibliography

Abrahams, R. B. "Mutual Help for the Widowed." *Social Work*, 17(5), 1972, 54-61.

Barrett, C. J. "A Comparison of Therapeutic Interventions for Widows." Paper presented at the 25th Annual Meeting of the Gerontological Society, November 7, 1973, Miami Beach, Florida.

Barrett, C. J. and Daniel, S. W. "Message or Medium: Why Do C-R Groups Work?" Submitted for publication, 1976.

Barrett, C. J. and Snyder, L. M. "Letters of Inquiry: Initial Self-Disclosure in a Program for Widows." Paper presented to the Adult Development and Aging Division of the American Psychological Association at the Annual Convention, September 1, 1975, Chicago, Illinois.

Berardo, F. "Social Adaptation to Widowhood Among a Rural-Urban Aged Population." Washington Agricultural Experiment Station, College of Agriculture, Washington State University, Bulletin 689, December, 1967.

Benston, V., Kasschau, P. and Ragan, P. "The Impact of Social Structure on Aging Individuals." In James Birren and K. Warner Schaie (eds.), *Handbook of Psychology of Aging*, New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1977.

Butler, R. N. *Why Survive? Being Old in America*. New York: Harper and Row, 1975.

Caine, L. *Widow*. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1975.

Carter, J. P. and Glick, P. C. *Marriage and Divorce: A Social and Economic Study*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970.

Cleveland, W. and Gianturco, D. "Remarriage Probability After Widowhood: A Retrospective Method." *Journal of Gerontology*, 31 (January 1976), 99-103.

Kubler-Ross, E. *On Death and Dying*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1969.

Lind, S. D. *Handbook on Widowhood Adjustment*. Portland, Oregon: Adult Learning Center, 1975.

Lopata, H. Z. "Loneliness: Forms and Components." *Social Problems* 17, (2), 1969, 248-262.

Lopata, H. Z. "The Social Involvment of American Widows." *American*

Behavioral Scientist, 14 (1), 1970, 41-57.

Lopata, H. Z. "Role Changes in Widowhood: A World Perspective." In D. O. Cowgill and L. Holmes (eds.), *Aging and Modernization*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1971. (1971a)

Lopata, H. Z. "Widows as a Minority Group." *The Gerontologist*, Spring 1971, Part II, 67-77. (1971b)

Lopata, H. Z. "Social Relations of Widows in Urbanizing Societies." *The Sociological Quarterly*, 1972, 13, 259-271.

Lopata, H. Z. "The Effect of Schooling on Social Contact of Urban Women." *The American Journal of Sociology*, 1973, 79 (3), 604-619. (1973a)

Lopata, H. Z. "Living Through Widowhood." *Psychology Today*, July, 1973, 87-92. (1973b)

Lopata, H. Z. "Self-Identity in Marriage and Widowhood." *Sociological Quarterly*, 1973, 14 (3), 407-418. (1973c)

Lopata, H. Z. *Widowhood in an American City*. Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing Company, 1973 (1973d)

Lopata, H. Z. "Widowhood: Societal Factors in Life-Span Disruptions and Alternatives." In N. Datan and L. H. Ginsberg (eds). *Life-Span Developmental Psychology Normative Life Crises*, New York: Academic Press, 1975.

Lorge, I., McClusky, H. Y., Jensen, G. D. And Hallenbeck. *Psychology of Adults*. Washington, D.C.: American Education Association, 1963.

McClusky, H. Y. "The Course of the Life Span: A Proposed Basis for a Differential Psychology of the Adult Years." Unpublished manuscript, The University of Michigan, 1970, 1-11.

Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. *Statistical Bulletin*, November 1962.

O'Neill, N. and O'Neill, G. *Open Marriage*. New York: Avon Books, 1972.

Puner, M. *To the Good Long Life, What We Know About Growing Old*. New York: Universe Press, 1974.

Silverman, P. R. "Services to the Widowed: First Steps in a Program of Preventative Intervention." *Community Mental Health Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 1, Spring 1967, pp. 37-44.

Silverman, P. R., MacKenzie, D. Pettipas, M., and Wilson, M., *Helping Each Other In Widowhood*. New York: Health Sciences Publishing

Corporation, 1974.

Slater, P. *The Pursuit of Loneliness.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1976.

Woodruff, D. and Birren, J. *Aging: Scientific Perspectives and Social Issues.* New York: Van Nostrand Company, 1975.

THE MISGUIDED HELPER: AN ANALYSIS OF PEOPLE'S RESPONSES TO THEIR LOVED ONES' CRISES

**Antonia Abbey, A. Elizabeth Holland
and Camille B. Wortman**

Much of our past research focuses on the ways in which people cope with major life crises (Coates, Wortman, and Abbey, 1979; Wortman and Dunkel-Schetter, 1979; Coates and Wortman, 1980; Wortman and Silver, in press; Wortman, Abbey, Holland, Silver, and Janoff-Bulman, in Press). One finding which recurs throughout the literature is that victims of misfortune deal more effectively with their problems when they receive the support and understanding of those closest to them (Clayton, Halikas, and Maurice, 1972; Bornstein et al., 1973; Carey, 1974; Brown, Bhrolchain, and Harris, 1975; Weisman, 1976; Jamison, Wellisch, and Pasnau, 1978).

Perceived social support has been associated with good adjustment to a variety of stressful events, including physical disability, malignant disease, bereavement, and rape (see Wortman and Silver, in press, for a review of this literature). Furthermore, evidence indicates that friends and family members are usually quite eager to aid the individual in crisis.* Unfortunately, friends' and family members' attempts to help the victim frequently backfire and instead harm the victim and contribute to his or her problems (Wortman and Dunkel-Schetter, 1979). This paradox is intriguing: if individuals in crisis need the support of persons close to them, and if those persons do indeed try to be supportive, why do they so often fail? In this paper we will analyze this interactive process and attempt to explain why failure occurs.*

---

* See Coates and Wortman, 1980 for a review of this literature.

Our analysis is restricted to people's reactions to victims of major life crises. How does one feel when a neighbor's child is seriously injured in an automobile accident? Or a close friend is brutally raped? Or a co-worker's spouse dies? In order to understand why others respond as they do, we must first understand how those others feel when confronted with a friend or family member in crisis.

Affective Response of Family and Friends of Victim. Often an individual's initial reaction to another's victimization is a sharp sense of his or her own vulnerability. People like to believe that the world is a rational place, where one's efforts are rewarded and crises do not occur randomly (Lerner, 1971; Walster, 1966). When one learns that a young person is dying or that a fellow student was raped, one may feel personally threatened. Such events force people to realize that these kinds of negative outcomes can happen to anyone at any time. Although all witnesses may feel threatened by another's misfortune, the reaction may be particularly strong among significant others--family and close friends--who may perceive themselves as being more similar to the victim and thus more likely to encounter similar circumstances themselves. When cigarette smokers read about strangers who died of lung cancer, it may be easy for them to avoid feeling vulnerable by telling themselves, "He must have smoked more than I do," or "She probably was born with weak lungs." But if a close friend with very similar smoking habits is diagnosed with lung cancer, it may be much harder to deny one's own fear of suffering a similar plight.

In addition to this heightened sense of vulnerability, friends and family members also feel a great deal of concern for individuals in trouble and are highly motivated to help them (Coates and Wortman, 1980). They want to help in ways that will truly be effective--that is, they want to reduce the sufferer's pain and misery (Brickman et al., 1979; Maslach, 1976). Furthermore, by reducing their loved one's pain, significant others will also reduce whatever pain they feel out of empathy or sympathy for the victim. Their own fears, which were triggered by their feelings of vulnerability, will also diminish; after all, if the victim can be helped, then they too could survive this kind of crisis.

Unfortunately, although others are motivated to help victims of serious crises, they often feel that there is little they can do to alleviate the victim's pain or to improve his or her situa-

* Because little sound empirical research had been conducted in this area, the model presented in this paper must be viewed as tentative pending further research.

tion. Major life crises are usually irrevocable; the magnitude and the scope of the problem may overwhelm concerned others. Bereavement, for example, affects the survivor's physical, psychological, social, and financial well-being (Glick, Weiss, and Parkes, 1974). Friends and family may feel helpless and unable to aid the victim in constructive ways. They may be concerned that the victim will overreact to anything they say or do. The individual in crisis seems emotionally vulnerable, and fear of saying or doing "the wrong thing" can make others anxious, tense, afraid to respond (Parkes, 1972).

Behavioral Response of Friends and Family. Research indicates that three strategies commonly used by family and friends when their loved ones in crises attempt to discuss their problems are: distraction, cheerfulness, and minimization. Although some persons close to the victim may be willing to talk with him or her, many apparently try to avoid serious discussion of the issues through the use of one or more of these techniques, probably in a misguided attempt to aid the victim. Because of their own fear of being similarly victimized, their fear of saying or doing the wrong thing, and their sense of futility (because they feel that nothing they can do will really help), friends and family may feel best when they try to forget about and ignore the victim's plight. And since they feel best when they deny the victim's problems, they assume that the victim will also feel best when he or she forgets about what happened, or at least attempts to minimize its severity and "look on the bright side." Unfortunately, these strategies of distraction, cheerfulness and minimization are not perceived by the victim as being at all helpful.

Distraction. Silverman, a clinician who counsels rape victims and those close to them, describes distraction as a common coping tactic:

> The idea here is to keep the victim occupied with group activities, vaction trips, shopping sprees, and the like in an attempt to deny and undo the effects of the rape. (1978, p. 171)

The assumption seems to be that if a person is not permitted to focus on his or her problems they will not exist. Researchers studying adjustment to a variety of crises report that friends and relatives avoid discussing the problem with the victim because they feel that it is best for him or her to try to forget about what happened (Caplan, 1964; Glick, Weiss, and Parkes, 1974; Schulz, 1978).

Cheerfulness. Alternatively, friends, and family may try to cheer the troubled individual by pointing out positive aspects of the situation, or they may try to reinforce the victim by maintaining a hopeful outlook. Betty Rollin, a mastectomy patient, recalls:

> I got many congratulations for being so brave and cheerful. I liked that, so I got more brave and cheerful. And the more brave and cheerful I was, the more everyone seemed to love me, so I kept it up. I became positively euphoric. (1976, p. 70.)

In a laboratory experiment by Coates, Wortman, Abbey, and Holland (reported in Coates, Wortman, and Abbey, 1979) a rape victim who made a mildly negative remark about her current emotional state was viewed by subjects as being maladjusted and as dwelling too much on the rape. These results suggest that a victim who expresses negative feelings will probably be encouraged by others to "quit worrying so much" and cheer up.

Minimization. Finally, others may try to minimize the extent of the crisis which the loved one faces; they may try to convince the victim that he or she is overreacting, that "things really aren't so bad." Kastenbaum (reported in Kastenbaum and Aisenberg, 1972) interviewed approximately 200 nursing personnel and found that when patients brought up the topic of their own deaths, these staff members might reassure the patient by saying, "You're doing so well now. You don't have to feel this way" (p. 221). Or they may deny it by saying, "You don't really mean that," or "You are not going to die; you're going to live to be a hundred" (p. 222). A cancer patient described her reactions to this technique in a letter to a newspaper columnist:

> Today a so-called friend called and told me to go out and stop feeling sorry for myself. Damn! I have a right to feel as sorry, bitchy, and selfish as I wish. I am the one dying of cancer. I have even been told often, "God never sends down on us more than we can handle." That is a lot of bull. (*Detroit Free Press*, 10-21-79, p. 7G).

The Victim's Perspective. Unfortunately, as the last quote indicates, the techniques of minimization, cheerfulness, and distraction not only may be ineffective in reducing the victim's distress, they may in fact, add to it. As several investigators have noted, the crisis behavior of friends and family often seems geared more toward reducing their own sense of helplessness than toward reducing the victim's pain (Coates and Wortman, 1980; Silverman, 1978). Persons close to the victim often seem incapable of truly understanding his or her perspective, or of realizing what kind of support the victim really wants and needs.

By providing the wrong kind of support, friends and family can actually make it more difficult for their loved ones to cope. Caplan and his co-workers, in studying adjustment to a variety of life crises, report that the individuals who developed the most serious pathological reactions were those whose friends and family consistently maintained a cheerful, positive attitude and refused to engage in any serious or depressing conversations about the crisis (Caplan, 1964; 1961). Grinker (1964), a clinician who has worked extensively with depressives, notes that responding to depressed individuals' fears with reassurance that they will be all right leaves them feeling frustrated and upset. Glick, Weiss, and Parkes (1974) report that the recently bereaved are often enjoined by their physicians, relatives, and friends to look on the bright side and think of their children and all they have to live for. However, the bereaved rarely viewed such injunctions as helpful, while persons who permitted and encouraged them to express their grief were viewed as most helpful. In another study of bereavement, Maddison and Walker (1967) interviewed 40 widows approximately 13 months after their husbands' deaths. They found that those widows who were poorly adjusted and had the greatest problems with their physical and mental health also reported failure on the part of friends and family to meet their needs to a greater extent than those widows who were well adjusted. The poorly adjusted widows noted that family and friends responded to them in unhelpful ways: they tried to be cheerful when the widow did not feel cheerful, they tried to stop her from brooding about what happened, and they told her to quit feeling sorry for herself. These remarks, while meant to cheer the widows, only made them feel worse. Similarly, Helmrath and Steinitz (1978) report that parents who have lost a newborn infant are frequently advised, "You're young--you can always have another one," or "It was only a baby whom you didn't know" (p. 788). Such comments intended to be helpful actually generated disappointment, resentment, and anger. As Lynn Caine reports in her book *Widow*:

> It infuriated me to have people say, "I know you'll be better soon." I wanted people to sympathize with how terrible I felt right then and there. To acknowledge my raw distress (1974, p. 82).

Victims' Perception of Responses. We feel that individuals in crisis perceive these responses of others as unhelpful for two basic reasons. First, when friends or family members insist that the victim's problems are not so awful and that he or she is capable of handling the, they imply that the victim should not feel as badly as he or she does. As a result, individuals in crisis may question how normal their reactions are and begin to doubt how well they are coping with their problems. They are confronted with the possibility that their feelings are not appropriate, or worse, that they may indicate a more serious disturbance (see Wortman and Dunkel-Schetter, 1979, and Coates and Wortman, 1980, for a detailed discussion of this issue).

More importantly, the strategies others use may not be helpful because they do not permit victims to ventilate their fears and concerns. Victims of a wide variety of crises report wanting to discuss their problems. Eighty-six percent of the cancer patients interviewed by Mitchell and Glicksman (1977) stated that they wished they could discuss their situation "more fully" with someone. Helmrath and Steinitz (1978) found that the seven mothers they interviewed who had lost an infant had a "strong need to talk about the physical characteristics of the baby, the details of the hospital course and death, and (their) desired, expectations, and fantasies for the baby" (p. 787). They also reported that friends and family members avoided any discussion of the infant or the death. Their husbands noted that no one they worked with had mentioned the incident and instead acted as if nothing had happened. As one rape victim expressed her feelings, "Talking about it doesn't exorcise it, but it does make it real instead of a nightmare, and that helps" (*Chicago Tribune*, 1-26-78).

Some research indicates too that ventilation helps victims cope. Brown, Bhrolchain, and Harris (1975) found that women who had experiences a major life crisis were more likely to develop a psychiatric disorder if they did not have an intimate, confiding relationship with a husband or boyfriend. The availability of a confidant seemed to act as a buffer against the effects of environmental stress for these women (Cobb, 1976; LaRocco, 1979). The staff of the Center for Rape Concern in Philadelphia argue:

> ...the presence of even one close friend who allowed the victim to pour it all our and supported her was a great help in positive adjustment (p. 22).

However, victims frequently report being unable to talk freely with their friends and family about their feelings. Forty-one percent of the victims interviewed by McCombie (1976) felt that they could not talk to anyone in their family about the attack. According to one rape victim, when she told her mother about the attack:

> We cried together. Then I told her everything that had happened, but she turned away and sobbed. I needed so to unburden myself but my mother couldn't listen to me (*Good Housekeeping*, May 1978).

A cancer patient interviewed by Dyk and Sutherland (1956) stated that his family

> ...would never have the patience to listen to the whole story of my illness...their desire was always to hear from me that I was all right (p. 74).

Being able to discuss one's fears openly and honestly with a sympathetic listener may be the first step toward understanding these fears and developing coping strategies to deal with them. By acting as a sounding board family and friends can help the victim interpret and manage his or her feelings.

In sum, we feel that in spite of people's good intentions, they often respond to victims in ways that add to their distress rather than reducing it. Instead of trying to distract victims from their problems by pretending that they do not exist and by minimizing their severity, family and friends should allow victims to ventilate. Instead of trying to cheer victims up when they seem depressed, friends and family members may help them more by allowing them to discuss their fears and concerns. As one rape victim described her coping strategy:

> I tried to forget it for three days; then I realized it wasn't something you can forget. Finally I realized I had to resolve it and face what had happened. (*Michigan Daily*, 11-19-76).

Significant others can help their loved ones "face what happened" by encouraging them to share their feelings.

Bibliography

Bornstein, P.E., Clayton, P.J., Halikas, J.A., Maurice, W.L., and Robins, E. "The Depression of Widowhood after Thirteen Months." *British Journal of Psychiatry* 122(1973): 561-566.

Brickman, P., Rabinowitz, V.C., Coates, D., Cohn, E., Kidder, L., and Karuza, J. "Helping," unpublished manuscript, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1979.

Brown, G.W., Bhrolchain, M.N., and Harris, T. "Social Class and Psychiatric Disturbance among Women in an Urban Population." *Sociology* 9(1975): 225-254.

Caine, L. *Widow.* New York: William Morrow and Co., 1974.

Caplan, G. *An Approach to Community Mental Health.* New York: Grune and Stratton, 1961.

Caplan, G. *Principles of Preventive Psychiatry.* New York: Basic Books, 1964.

Carey, R.C. "Emotional Adjustment in Terminal Patients: A Quantitative Approach." *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 21(1974): 433-439.

Chicago Tribune, January 26, 1978.

Clayton, P.J., Halikas, J.A., and Maurice, W.L. "The Depression of Widowhood." *British Journal of Psychiatry* 20(1972): 71-78.

Coates, D., and Wortman, C.B. "Some Psychological Perspectives on Depression." In A. Baum and J. Singer (Eds.), *Advances in Environmental Psychology Vol. 2.* Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1980, 149-182.

Coates, D., Wortman, C.B., and Abbey, A. "Reactions to Victims." In I.H. Frieze, D. Bar-Tal, and J.S. Carroll (Eds.), *New Approaches to Social Problems.* San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 1979, 21-52.

Cobb, S. "Social Support as a Moderator of Life Stress." *Psychosomatic Medicine* 38(1976): 300-314.

Detroit Free Press, October 21, 1979, p. 7G.

Dyk, R., and Sutherland, A.M. "Adaptation of the Spouse and other Family Members to the Colostomy Patient." *Cancer* 9(1956): 123-138.

Glick, I.O., Weiss, R.S., and Parkes, C.M. *The First Years of Bereavement.* New York: Wiley, 1974.

Grinker, R.R. "Reception of Communications by Patients in Depressive States." *Archives of General Psychiatry* 10(1964): 576-580.

Helmrath, T.A., and Steinitz, E.M. "Death of an Infant: Parental Grieving and the Failure of Social Support." *The Journal of Family Practice* 6(1978): 785-790;

"It Happened to Me: I was Raped and too Ashamed to Tell Anyone." Moira A. and A. Rule, *Good Housekeeping*, May 1978.

Jamison, K.R., Wellisch, D.K., and Pasnau, R.O. "Psychosocial Aspects of Mastectomy: I, The Woman's Perspective." *American Journal of Psychiatry* 134(1978): 432-436.

Kastenbaum, R. and Aisenberg, R. *The Psychology of Death.* New York: Springer, 1972.

Krasner, W., Meyer, L.C., Carroll, N.E. (Center for Rape Concern). "Victims of Rape." *NIMH Report*, 1976.

LaRocco, J.M. "Social Support, Occupational Stress, and Individual Well-Being." Unpublished manuscript, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, 1979.

Lerner, M.J. "Observers' Evaluation of a Victim: Justice, Guilt, and Veridical Perception." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 20(1971): 127-135.

Maddison, D., and Walker, W.L. "Factors Affecting the Outcome of Conjugal Bereavement." *British Journal of Psychiatry* 113(1967): 1057-1067.

Maslach, C. "Burned-out." *Human Behavior* 5(1976): 16-22.

McCombie, S.L. "Characteristics of Rape Victims Seen in Crisis Intervention." *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, 46(1976): 137-158.

Michigan Daily, November 19, 1976.

Mitchell, G.W., and Glicksman, A.S. "Cancer Patients: Knowledge and Attitudes." *Cancer* 40(1977): 61-66.

Parkes, C.M. "The Emotional Impact of Cancer on Patients and their Families." *Journal of Laryngology and Utology* 89 (1972): 1271-1279.

Rollin, B. *First You Cry*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1976.

Schulz, R. *The Psychology of Death, Dying, and Bereavement.* Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1978.

Silverman, D.C. "Sharing the Crisis of Rape: Counseling the Mates and Families of Victims." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 48(1978): 166-173.

Walster, E. "Assignment of Responsibility for an Accident." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 3(1966): 73-79.

Weisman, A.D. "Coping with an Untimely Death." In R.J. Moss (Eds.), *Human Adaptation.* Lexington, MA: Heath, 1976.

Wortman, C.B., Abbey, A., Holland, A.E., Silver, R.L., and Janoff-Bulman, R. "Transitions from the Laboratory to the Field: Problems and Progress." In L. Bickman (Ed.), *Applied Social Psychology Annual.* Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, in press.

Wortman, C.B., and Dunkel-Schetter, C. "Interpersonal Relationships and Cancer: A Theoretical Analysis." *Journal of Social Issues* 35(1979): 120-155.

Wortman, C.B., and Silver, R.L. "Coping with Undesirable Life Events." In M.E. P. Seligman and J. Garber (Eds.), *Human Helplessness: Theory and Applications.* New York: Academic Press, in press.

VI.

MEASURING WOMEN'S LIFE SATISFACTION

WORK, WOMEN, & WELL-BEING: A LIFE COURSE PERSPECTIVE

Hazel Markus

Work and well-being. What is the nature of the relationship between them? Even the most cursory review of the literature reveals quite plainly that work is thought to have a pervasive and profound impact on our well-being. Of course work influences our material well-being quite directly. But it has also been thought that it influences our happiness, our satisfaction, and our feelings of self-worth and dignity. In short, our overall *psychological* well-being.

Carlyle tells us that "if you can work you are king of *something*"; Emerson says that "every man's task is his life preserver," and Dekker that "every work is a portrait of the self." Others claim that work is sweet, or that it will make you free.

Of course, there have been those who have taken exception to this very positive view of work. Charles Lamb wanted to know who invented work "and bound the free and holiday-rejoicing spirit down," and Oscar Wilde announced that "work was the curse of the drinking classes." Yet these views, however momentarily appealing, are clearly the minority position. The predominant view of work is that it has an uplifting effect on the human spirit. The message seems clear: "Blessed is *he* who has found *his* work."

But what about *she* and *her* work? My review of the general writing on the value and theory of work was not exhaustive, but it was widespread. And I was able to find only a single specific reference to women and work. As you are already anticipating, "Man may work from sun to sun, but woman's work is never done." Traditionally, woman's work has always been different, thus it hasn't been given much attention. Certainly women have always worked, in the sense of work as exertion directed to produce or to accomplish something, but as a group they are yet to experience many of the self-enhancing and dignifying aspects of work. For as John Ruskin wrote, "In order that people be happy in their work, three things are needed. They must be fit for it, they must not do too much of it, and they must have a sense of success in it." Typically, women have had too much work and too little success in it, but the nature of woman's work is changing rapidly. A majority of women will soon work both *inside* and *outside* the home. Yet we know very little about the value of work for women. We need to explore the psychological meaning of work for women and to understand how it is related to general well-being. In the long run, the relationship between work and well-being may be no different for women than it is for men. But this is a time when women are restructuring their image, and if every work is a portrait of the self, we may, through a focus on women's thoughts and feelings about work, be able to observe the outlines of this changing image.

This paper explores the relationship between work and well-being for women, focussing on two main points. The first point is that work does not and cannot lead directly to well-being, for the nature of this relationship depends very much on one's view of the self. Work is associated with well-being to the extent that it supports one's view of the self and it is detrimental to the extent that it conflicts with this view. The second point is that *how* work relates to well-being changes in the course of one's life. The relationship between work and well-being is not invariant with life course. At some points in life, work will confirm one's emerging view of the self more clearly than at other points.

In this discussion well-being means *psychological* well-being, rather than *physical* well-being. Psychological well-being derives in large part from one's overall positive or negative evaluation of one's self and I will focus on this aspect of well-being. I will discuss work both inside and outside the home, but when I refer to work or employment, I will mean paid employment outside the home.

Description of Sample. The data used are drawn from a large survey conducted by the University of Michigan Center for Continuing Education of Women (CEW). The purpose of this project* was to examine the consequences of the transition from education to employment among returning women students. The data are from mail questionnaires sent to women who came to CEW during the years 1968 to 1973. There are 1,145 respondents who range in age from 22 to 83 About one-third of the women are less than 35 years old, another third are 35 to 44 years old, and the rest are 45 or more. Three-forths of the women are married and the majority of these have children. They are a well-educated and relatively affluent group. About one-third of the women have only a four-year college degree, but 43 percent have Master's degrees and 9 percent have high-level professional degrees in law or medicine or education. Nearly a quarter of them still aspire to higher degrees. The husbands of these women are heavily represented in the professions. On the whole, the participants of this study appear to be able and competent women who are leading full lives.

---

*Supported by the Ford Foundation.

And indeed the data support these speculations. Among the items in the questionnaire, we included a self-esteem scale and an adjective checklist. By self-esteem we mean the evaluation an individual places on herself--a liking or respect for the self that has some basis in reality. It includes such items as "I take a positive attitude toward myself," "I am able to do things as well as most other people," or "I feel that my life is not very useful." On this scale we found that although there are some important differences, as a whole the women in our study feel very positive about themselves. On an adjective checklist included in the questionnaire, we listed a number of characteristics that have been found in other studies to be central to how women think about themselves. We simply asked them to rate themselves on a number of qualities on a 5-point scale ranging from "describes me very much" to "does not describe me at all." Between a third and a half of the women rated themselves as *very* intellectual, *very* socially successful, *very* competitive, *very* independent, resourceful, and creative. These high self-esteem ratings and positive self-descriptions characterized these women regardless of their age group.

A Cognitive Approach. In interpreting our results, I will take a *cognitive approach.* Cognition is the act or process of knowing. When taking a cognitive approach, the concern is with how people *think*, how they come to understand their world, and how they use the knowledge they gain to guide their decisions and actions. A cognitive approach emphasizes one's internal representations of the world. It focuses on the frameworks that we use to create order for ourselves about the world around us. I will call these frameworks for interpreting social behavior *schemas*. Schemas are our subjective theories about the world. They render a complex social world more meaningful. We do not at all share the same frameworks or schemas about the social world. As we will see in these data, for example, individuals differ markedly in how they feel and think about work. Work means different things to different people, and this fact has a substantial influence on how work is related to well-being. It is an obvious but not often enough considered fact that people do not share the same feelings and thoughts about the important aspects of their lives, even when these people are similar in their access to power, in their opportunities, status, and other demographic characteristics. It is necessary to consider the nature of the social environment and how it influences an individual's behavior, but we must also attend to how the individual construes and interprets this environment. Situational or environmental factors cannot exist independently of the person. The labor market, financial resources, structural barriers to educational or employment opportunities, and status, while all very real, cannot be viewed entirely as forces that reside outside the individual. These conditions have effects mainly as they are perceived, or construed, or interpreted by a woman.

What a woman chooses to attend to in the social environment depends on the nature of her experiences in the past and on the nature and content of her schemas. What has been important to women in the past will influence and constrain their actions in the future. We all play an active role in constructing the situations to which we respond. This is not to deemphasize the role of the situation itself: we are all products of our interactions with the social environment. Yet what appears as objectively the same situation to an observer may be quite different for the ones being observed. Take, for example, the familiar situation of a depressed labor market where jobs are scarce and there is a general tightening and constriction of resources. There are a variety of ways in which to view this situation. One woman may attend carefully to all the news reports of job scarcity and to the detailed accounts of her friends who cannot find jobs in their fields. She may decide on the basis of her organization and interpretation of this situation to pursue a career in business, rather than in teaching or counselling. Another woman, faced with the same situation, may ignore the accounts of the media and the reports of her friends, and attend instead to the one friend who did find a good job, or to the fact that she herself found a job several years ago when the job situation was also bad. Which woman is better off? Which is more likely to experience greater well-being? It is difficult, if not impossible to say. The point to be stressed is that these two women, although they are in similar situations, differ in how they think about the situation.

The point here is that we cannot hope to explain how factors like work have an influence on the attitudes and behavior of women, unless we take these differences into account. We are different people in large part because of the differences in our cognitive frameworks or schemas. To understand behavior it is necessary to understand how women feel and think about their world, and to understand how they structure and represent this world to themselves. It is not sufficient merely to observe actions. We have first to understand what these actions mean, what they mean to the individual -- that is, we have to appreciate the frame of reference we use to categorize, organize, and understand the events around us. Usually this approach is taken by clinicians who concentrate on intensive examination of single individuals. In contrast, however, I will try to use this approach in the context of survey research.

Theories of the Self. Among the most crucial of our schemas are those about the self. These self-schemas are those that contain information about the kind of person you are, and about what features of the self are most important or most salient to you. Self-schemas are mental representations of the kind of person you are. They are derived from your past social experiences, and they represent an organization of information about the kind of person you are in various situations and about how you are likely to feel or to act. These self-schemas help you understand or explain or make sense of your own behavior. It is assumed that these theories or schemas about the self have a fairly stable organization and that they guide, or influence, or direct our behavior.

By the time we are in our middle twenties, most of us have fairly good ideas of the kind of people we are. We have summarized our past experiences and reactions, and we have summarized the reactions and evaluations of others to us. The result is a set of self-schemas about certain aspects of our behavior. For example, you may have developed some clear theories about your physical self and thus have decided that you don't really have the build to be skinny and will probably always be ten pounds overweight. Or you may have concluded that you are a good, loving mother despite the fact that your five-year-old daughter says she hates you because you won't change her Halloween costume from that of Raggedy Anne to a ballerina right before trick or treating. Or you may decide that you are the kind of person who works very well with people and will do well in administrative positions. Or perhaps you will infer that you're a fairly independent person who really knows what she wants to do most of the time, and thus you'll go back to school for your M.A. in political science even though everyone says there are no jobs. In some areas, all of us have some clearly-defined, fairly well-developed self-schemas that will determine how we construe situations and how we interpret events in the environment.

General Relationships Between Work and Well-being. Given this perspective, I'd like to turn now to some of the data on self-esteem and self-description to explore the relationship of work to well-being. Although the relationship between work and well-being for women has not been the focus of a great deal of attention, several large national sample surveys have included employment data for women. These samples are of course quite different from ours because they do not include large numbers of respondents at the higher levels of educational and professional training, but they can provide some initial context for our findings. One report (Iglehart, 1976) found that wives working full-time were significantly more likely than housewives to describe their lives as "very happy." Two other studies (Campbell, et al., 1976; Wright, 1978), however, found no significant differences among housewives and working wives in overall satisfaction.

In our CEW sample, we found that working *was* related to positive feelings about the self, but *only* for those who think of themselves as having or planning a career. As can be seen in Figure 1, those women who currently think of themselves as having or planning a career *and* are currently employed have significantly higher self-esteem than the other groups.

The other three groups are not significantly different from each other. By looking at the third bar from the left, those who are employed but not career-oriented, it is clear that work alone does not lead to positive feelings about the self. On the other hand, thinking you have a career or planning one is related to higher self-esteem, even if the respondents are not currently employed. This same pattern of relationships holds across all age groups, although it is most pronounced among women in the 35 to 44 age group. If we had not divided these respondents according to whether or not they *thought* of themselves as having a career, we would not have noticed the distinctly higher levels of self-esteem among those women who are employed and committed to a career. Without this distinction based on how women think about themselves, working women and women not working outside the home would have looked decidedly more similar.

A career schema organizes information relevant to the role of work in one's life. It includes one's thoughts and feelings about the psychological value of work and about the nature of one's commitment to it. Those women who are committed to a career and who view it as a central component in their lives have a very different schema than have those who view work as secondary to marital or parental interests. From looking at the difference between those who are career-oriented and employed and those who are career-oriented but not employed, it would seem that work is related to higher levels of self-esteem in these women, because the work or employment provides information that confirms one's thoughts and feelings about the self. Those who are career-committed but do not have a job may suffer from a lack of evidence to support or confirm their schemas and thus they will exhibit relatively lower levels of self-esteem. Those who are employed but do not define themselves in terms of work, do not have a career schema. For them work outside the home is not a source of information about central aspects of the self and thus is unlikely to be associated with increased levels of self-esteem. In fact, for these people work outside the home may actually conflict with their central or salient self-schemas and thus may be related to lower levels of self-esteem (see Figure 1).

Turning from these general measures of self-esteem to some more specific indicators of well-being, we can look at the pattern of self-descriptions on the adjective checklist. For each adjective presented, we looked at the percentage of people who rated themselves extremely in each of the four career commitment/employment groups. Thinking that one has or is planning a career, regardless of whether one is currently employed, is strongly associated with a number of very positive self-characterizations. Figure 2 shows the percentage of people who rated themselves as very intellectual on a 5-point scale. Those who are career-committed (the two bars on the left) are more likely to see themselves as very "intellectual" than are those who are not pursuing a career. In this case it seems that just the expectation of a career or the knowledge that one plans to pursue one is sufficient to maintain one's self-schema in the area. Here again, for those who are working but not career-oriented, work may actually interfere or conflict with their ideas of themselves as "intellectual." The identical pattern was observed for self-ratings on the characteristics "socially successful" and "creative." Once again, the career-oriented were much more likely to see themselves as socially successful and creative than those who

FIGURE 1

SELF - ESTEEM

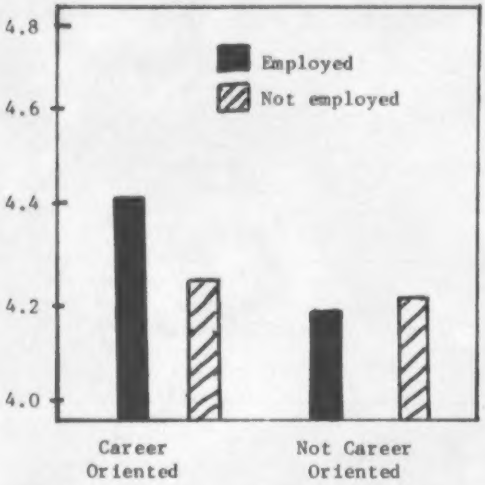
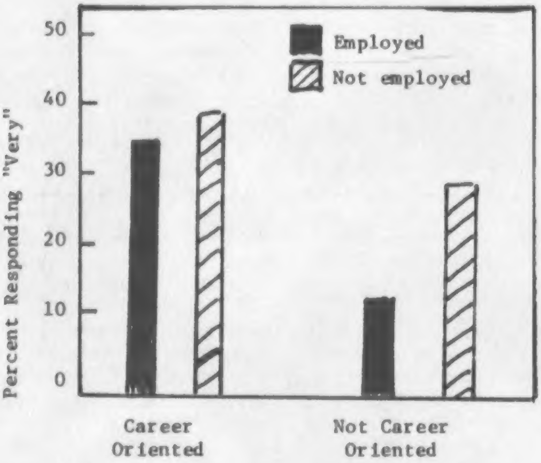


FIGURE 2

INTELLECTUAL



are not career-oriented.

With these findings we are led to question the direction of causality between career-orientation and self-esteem. It may be that involvement in a career setting brings about experiences that confirm one's self-schemas relative to social expertise or intelligence. Alternatively, it may be that those individuals who feel relatively intelligent or socially successful to begin with are those who are most likely to initiate and pursue a career. These separate explanations are difficult to disentangle, given these data, and to some extent both factors are probably at work. Figure 3 shows the percentage of respondents who rated themselves as "very competitive." As noted earlier, across all four groups, the women in the sample see themselves as fairly competitive. Yet within the two career-oriented groups, the two bars on the left hand side, we can see that those who are working are even more likely to describe themselves as very competitive. This identical pattern is found for the qualities "resourceful" and "occupationally successful." Here it seems evident that the work experience is directly and immediately relevant to one's view of oneself as competitive. It is probably somewhat more difficult to find evidence which confirms this particular view of the self unless one is actively participating in work outside the home.

Well-being and Enjoyment of Work. In another attempt to evaluate the impact on well-being of individual differences in the way these respondents feel or think about their work, we contrasted those who report enjoying their work with those who do not enjoy their work. Again we constructed four groups: the career-oriented who enjoy their work; the career-oriented who do not enjoy their work; those who are not career-oriented but enjoy their work; and finally, those who are not career-oriented and do not enjoy their work. The differences among the groups with respect to self-esteem are dramatic. As shown in Figure 4, enjoyment of work, regardless of career commitment, is clearly and positively related to higher levels of self-esteem. These results allow us to refine our earlier statements about the relationship between work and well-being. If an individual does not feel good about her job, regardless of career commitment, she is likely to have relatively lower levels of self-esteem. Enjoyment of work also is related to the nature of self-description. Thus those who enjoy their work are more likely to report themselves as attractive, socially successful, independent, resourceful, occupationally successful, and creative. When you control for enjoyment of work, the two working groups look extremely similar.

An obvious relationship exists between enjoyment of work and well-being. Those who enjoy their work are those who find aspects of their work that are consistent with or that confirm their schemas about themselves. A continual confirmation of these important or salient aspects of the self in the work setting may lead quite naturally to good feelings about the self. This is yet another example of how the relationship between work and well-being might be obscured if we did not take a cognitive perspective and attempt to understand what an individual feels or thinks about her work.

FIGURE 3

COMPETITIVE

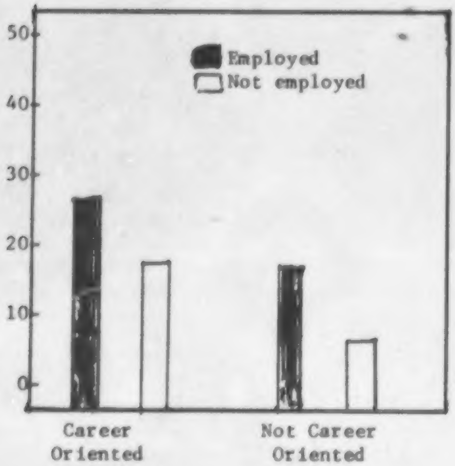
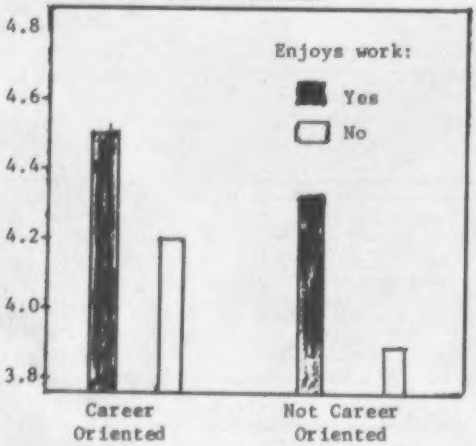


FIGURE 4

SELF - ESTEEM



Self-schemas and Career Orientation. To investigate more specifically the influence of a particular type of self-schema on the relationship between work and well-being, women who characterized themselves as "very independent" were selected from each of the four groups: career-oriented and employed; career-oriented and not employed; not career-oriented and employed; and not career-oriented and not employed. This dimension was chosen because schemas about independence have been found to have a number of significant cognitive consequences in laboratory studies. Between 30 and 40 percent of the respondents in each of these four groups characterized themselves as "very independent." These individauls appear to be quite representative of their respective groups with regard to age and marital status. To understand something more about the independence of these individuals, we looked for some behavioral indications of independence. We examined their responses to the question: "Have you ever been totally self-supporting?" Across all four groups, these individuals were significantly more likely to have been self-supporting in the past. We assumed that these women were likely to have engaged in behavior that was labelled by themselves and by others as "independent" and that over the course of time these women came to view themselves as independent people. That is to say, they developed self-schemas about independence.

We compared these four groups of respondents, all of whom rated themselves as "very independent," for their levels of self-esteem. The results are striking. Figure 5 shows two sets of results. The light shaded bars are the same results shown in Figure 1, that is, the self-esteem of the four groups without controlling for independence. Behind these bars are the results for those women who described themselves as "very independent." The differences in self-esteem that were observed among these four groups are substantially mitigated, so that among the "very independent" there are no significant differences among the four groups with respect to self-esteem. It seems that the independence self-schema or thinking of one's self as extremely independent works to protect one against some of the more negative thoughts and feelings that seem to accompany not working or the lack of a career orientation. It is the two non-employed groups--those in the striped bars--that show the sharpest difference when controlling for independence. Information from the outside world which says that one is not independent, or not her own person, can be ignored or not attended to because of a strong, prevailing theory about the self which says "I am independent."

We than looked to see what effect an independence self-schema had on other types of self-ratings. Here again the results are unambiguous. In all cases, those who viewed themselves as very independent also saw themselves as more intelligent, more attractive, more socially successful, more competitive, more resourceful, and more creative. One's overall self-view or self-image seems markedly enhanced by the independence self-schema. The self-schema may operate in several ways for these individuals, and these cannot, of course, be isolated with general survey data, but it is interesting to speculate about them. It may be that the view of the self as an independent person allows one to cast all incoming information that is relevant to the self in a more positive light. Alternatively, it may be that individuals with independence self-schemas only attend to those aspects of the social environment that confirm or support their view of themselves as independent.

An obvious question to be asked at this juncture concerns the causal relationship between self-esteem and thoughts of one's self as independent. It could be reasonably argued, for example, that people who have high self-esteem are likely to see themselves as more independent and more everything else for that matter. It is interesting in this respect, however, that not everyone who has high self-esteem views herself as very independent. It might also be argued that these people see themselves as more independent and have higher levels of self-esteem because the events and situations of their lives are just objectively better. We evaluated this idea by looking at the responses of the four groups to the statement, "Right now, I lead an interesting and satisfying life." The women who characterize themselves as very independent do not report that their lives are any more interesting or satisfying than do other respondents in their group. That is, with respect to an interesting life, the differences among the four groups are maintained. Those who are career-oriented are much more likely than those who are not to say that their life is interesting. In short, it seems that the main factor distinguishing these individuals is their schema or view of themselves as independent. A view of the self as an independent person seems to have an important impact on self-esteem and thus on the relationship between work and well-being. This view of the self appears to mitigate some of the negative effects on well-being that are associated with not working or with not having a career orientation.

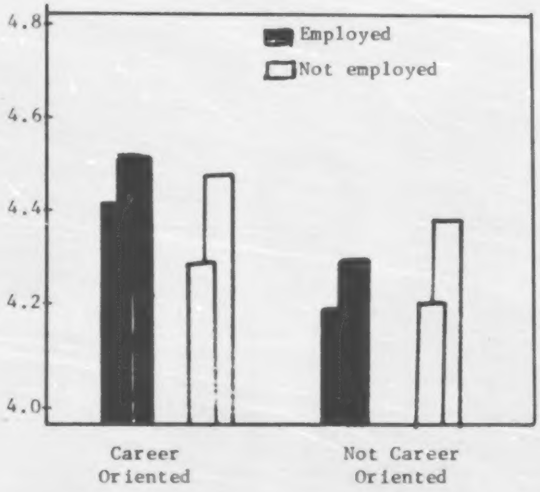
Variations in the Work/Well-being Relationship Through the Life Course. A cognitive approach to the relationship between work and well-being suggests that the nature of the relationship will depend on the nature and content of one's self-schemas. According to this approach, the nature and content of one's self-schema will be heavily influenced, if not completely determined, by the important and significant events in one's life. Thus the relationship between work and one's general well-being or feeling about the self may be mediated by how one thinks about one's self or by the salient events that cause an individual to modify or alter her overall self-conception. The clearest example of such a change can be found with becoming a parent. For most women, this is a major event in the life course, one which may cause one's view of the self to undergo major revisions or transformations. With the birth of a child it is necessary to incorporate the parent schema into one's overall view of the self. The parent schema involves the idea of self as nurturer and as one who gives love, attention, and care. One's view of the self must be modified to include the idea of assuming a total responsibility for another person. In some very real sense, the self-system must become larger in order to accommodate this new, and for many, quite radically different view of the self. These important changes in self-schemas will undoubtedly have a decided influence on how one construes the other forces and factors in one's life. For many women, work outside the home prior to the birth of a child may have served to confirm prevailing self-schemas. Work can provide powerful evidence that one is competent, independent, able, and productive, as well as a socially sensitive or responsive person. However, for a woman with a child work alone may not provide corroborating evidence for all her important self-schemas. It may in fact directly conflict with some of them. The requirements of work may keep a parent from devoting what she feels is the proper amount of energy and attention to her child. This imbalance or incongruence may then influence how work is related to self-esteem.

If we look once again at the four career commitment and employment groups that we have been considering all along, we find that self-esteem is generally lower for all groups when they have children under five years of age. The extremely high levels of self-esteem of the working, career-committed women are somewhat attenuated with young children. This may be because these women must now define themselves in relation to, and in connection with, other persons. They must see themselves in terms of their ability to care and to provide for another. Work outside the home may provide information about one's independence, self-reliance, leadership, or power, but in many cases it does little to enhance or elaborate one's view of herself as one who gives care or one who nurtures. However, those who are career-oriented but do not work show an even greater difference in their levels of self-esteem when they have young children. They have low levels of self-esteem and they also describe themselves as less independent, less successful occupationally, and less resourceful. A woman who has children and is not working may find herself totally engaged by "the woman's work that is never done" and consequently may experience very few events or situations in which she can seek out confirming evidence for her image of herself as resourceful or independent or competent.

In short, work will not be positively related to well-being unless it contributes to or enhances one's view of the self in those areas that are most salient or important to the individual. Most women, as they progress through the life course, are required to make a number of sharp transitions from one set of activities and concerns to another. These transitions require changes in one's view of the self and these changes determine which aspect of one's life will be positively associated with good feeling about the self or with well-being. Women have always been required to integrate a wide array of roles and activities into their self-concepts. Historically they have been asked to take on or build their self-definitions from the events around them, rather than to forge their own identities. More recently, as women are actively encouraged to seek opportunity, status, and power, the press or need for developing a unified sense of self has become even greater. Women will increasingly define themselves in terms of their work and careers, but because of their inevitable role in nurturing and caregiving, they will also continue to define themselves in terms of their ties and bonds and attachments to others. For many women integrating these often disparate but important views of themselves may be difficult and may cause some conflict and unhappiness. For others, who manage to find within their work the opportunity to confirm or gratify some of the most important aspects of the self, work may become an increasingly important source of self-esteem and satisfaction.

FIGURE 5

SELF - ESTEEM



TRANSITION TO WORK:

WHO IS SATISFIED AND WHO IS NOT?

Jean Manis

In thinking about the issue of transition in the lives of women today--by which I mean transitions from one pattern of life to another, a shift in the mix and primacy of different roles and activities--I'd like to discuss the question from the standpoint of who seems relatively well satisfied with their current pattern, whether they have made a successful transition to employment or not.

Our data come from a follow-up survey of women who had come to the Center for Continuing Education of Women at the University of Michigan during the first 10 years of the Center, between 1964 and 1973.* We were particularly interested in what happened to the women after they had completed their interrupted educations. Were they interested in careers? If so, did they find jobs? How happy are they with these outcomes? We received responses from 1,145 women, ranging in age from 22 to 83. About one-third of the women are under 35-years old, another third are 35 to 44, and the rest 45 or more, so the data are well-suited to comparing attitudes across the life cycle, and to assessing the impact of changing cultural norms on women of different ages.

Briefly, nearly one-half (47 percent) of the women are working full-time, 28 percent are working part-time, and the rest, about 25 percent, are not working. Nearly three-fourths of the women say that they think of themselves as having or planning a career. In what follows, the terms "career-oriented" and "non-career-oriented" simply refer to whether the respondent answered yes or no to the question of whether she thought of herself as having or planning a career; it is not a judgment that the career is more important to her than other roles. Nearly three-fourths of the women are married; 15 percent are divorced, and 9 percent never married.

---

*The study was funded by the Ford Foundation, as part of a general support grant to the Center. A previous study based on the same data set reported on changes in attitude over time about combining career and family roles. See Note 1.

To begin with, how do these women assess the satisfaction and interest of their own lives, and what factors seem to be related to these assessments?

As a group, our resondents seem reasonably well-satisfied with their lives, which is in accord with numerous survey results showing that people of higher levels of education and income tend to express higher levels of happiness or well-being. We used several measures of life satisfaction, which I want to describe briefly to you. The major one is the resondent's agreement or disagreement with the following statement: "I think of my life today as interesting and satisfying." This was one of a set of items tapping the respondents' self-image and attitudes; responses were recorded on a five-point scale, with "agree" at one end and "disagree" at the other, with "mostly agree" and "mostly disagree" as more qualified responses, and a neutral mid-point, "neither agree nor disagree." Later in the questionnaire we asked: "Taking your day-to-day life in general, are you doing all the things you would really like to be doing? Responses were recorded on a four-point scale, with the labels "yes," "for the most part," "not entirely," and "definitely not." (As a follow-up question, for everyone except those who gave an unqualified "yes," we asked: "What is missing?") As a third measure, we asked those who were working: "How much would you say you enjoy the work you are doing?" Four response categories were offered, ranging from "A great deal" to "Not at all."

Work Status and an Interesting Life. Considering one's self to have an interesting and satisfying life proved to be significantly related towork status and career orientation, as we had discovered with self-esteem. Women who are employed full-time show the greatest agreement with the "interesting life" item, and those who are not employed show the least, with those working part-time falling in between. And if you divide those working full-time into two groups, according to level of salary, then those working full-time at higher salaries show most agreement, with those working full-time at lower salaries next, then those working part-time according to the same pattern.

If we look at the relationship between work status and the "interesting life" rating by age--dividing the sample into four groups, those 25 to 34, 35 to 44, and 55 to 64--we see the same pattern within each age group. That is, at each age the women who are working full-time are the most likely to say that they have an interesting and satisfying life, and those who are not employed are the least likely to say this. If we simply compare those who think of themselves as having a career with those who do not, we find a significant relationship for the two middle groups--those 35 to 44 and 45 to 54--but not for the youngest and oldest groups. This result seems to reflect two rather different sets of circumstances. The younger women--88 percent of them--are almost all interested in careers, and life satisfaction at this age tends to be determined more by whether they are married, single or divorced, and by the repondent's progress toward formulating and acting upon clear career goals. Among the older women, whether the respondent thinks of herself as having a career or not simply seems less central to her sense of self and her satisfaction with life. It is not uncommon for older women who are working full-time in reasonably interesting jobs to say that they do not think of themselves as having a career. That is, they comment, "It wasn't anything I really planned," or "It just gradually developed," or something of the sort. To give a striking example, one respondent, an older women married to a successful business executive, who had done many interesting volunteer activities while raising her family, had in recent years been working and is now the executive director of a human-service agency, earning one of the highest salaries among our respondents. Yet, while describing the many positive features of her job and the satisfactions she derives from it, she nevertheless concludes by saying, "Basically it gives me something to do in case something happens to my husband." In other words, her job--full-time, demanding, highly paid--is clearly a secondary part of her life, and not a central part of her self-image. Surely her job satisfaction contributes to her present life satisfaction, but it is not an essential element in her definition of a satisfying life. In other words, her self-image includes the concept, "I can do this sort of thing--I have the necessary ability and skills," but is does not include the concept, "I must do this sort of thing in order to have a satisfying life." And this is what seems to be changing. When we look at the women who appear to be similar in ability and interests, but who are 10, 15, or 20 years younger, we no longer find quite the same attitude, and the data clearly indicate that the lack of career goals and satisfaction affect overall life satisfaction and self-esteem.

When we look at the question of whether the women are doing all that they would like to do, we see a somewhat different pattern of responses. Only 16 percent of our sample say, "Yes, we are doing all we would like to be going." (About 40 percent say that they are, "for the most part.") Responses to this question are not so clearly related to work status; working women and non-working women are equally likely to indicate that they are not doing all that they would like to. However, their reports of what is missing in their lives vary substantially. Employed women comment most frequently on lack of time for a multitude of things they would like to do, while the most frequent comment of women who are not employed is that they wish they had a job.

Since these two measures seemed to be tapping somewhat different aspects of satisfaciton--the "interesting life" item reflecting a sense of adequate stimulation and challenge, the "not doing all" question more a sense of constraints on one's activities--we decided to create a combined measure which would include both these aspects. This composite measure has four categories: those who are relatively satisfied on both measures, those who are relatively dissatisfied on both measures, and the two possible mis-matches--those who say that they have an interestin life, but are not doing all they would like to, and the somewhat bleaker group who say that they are pretty much doing what they would like, but do not find their life very interesting or satisfying. On this composite measure, slightly over 50 percent of the respondents fall in the "high" or satisfied group,and 25 percent fall in the "interesting life, but not doing all" group. Seventeen percent fall in the low, or dissatisfied group, and less than 5 percent in the "doing what they want, but not satisfied" group. Fifty-five percent of the career women fall in the satisfied group, compared to less than 40 percent of the non-career women; at the other end, 15 percent of the career women fall into the low group, compared to 27 percent of the non-career women.

Part-time vs. Full-time Work. If we consider now some of the factors which affect satisfaction, one of the first issues is that of part-time vs. full-time work. Some of the earlier research on working women suggested that the part-time job was the happiest solution, since it offered the benefits of getting out of the house, meeting other people, and earning a little money, without seriously interfering with household operations. We find that whether the women is career-oriented or not affects both the likelihood of holding a part-time rather than a full-time job, and also the level of life satisfaction associated with such a job. Of the women in the 35 to 54 age range, among the career-oriented, 53 percent are working full-time and 29 percent are working part-time (with 18 percent not working); among the non-career women, these figures are roughly reversed: 51 percent are working part-time, and 20 percent are working full-time (with 30 percent not working). And among the career women those working full-time express greater life satisfaction than those working part-time; among the non-career women, the opposite is true--those working part-time are more satisfied than those working full-time. Furthermore, career women in part-time jobs are more likely to give a job-related response, when discussing what is missing in their lives, than are those in full-time jobs. The most striking example of this appears among those women who hold academic appointments--faculty or higher administrative positions in colleges or universities. About 28 percent of these respondents hold part-time positions--and of these part-time appointees, two-thirds gave a job-related response to the "What is missing?" question. Other occupational groups which tended to give relatively higher proportions of job-related responses to the "What is missing?" question are artists and writers, those in office or clerical work, those in business and in real estate, and those in student or research-assistant kinds of positions. With the exception of those in business, these occupational areas all tended, in our sample, to have higher than average numbers of part-time workers.

Overall, about one-third of our respondents gave a job-related response, when discussing what was missing in their lives. (That is, they said that they wished they had a job, or a better job, or greater career success, or greater opportunity to pursue certain kinds of work, etc.) However, if you look at those who are currently dissatisfied with their lives, 57 percent give such a response, while among those who are relatively satisfied with their lives, only 21 percent give such a response. It appears that, for our respondents, satisfaction with or enjoyment of their work is a major influence on overall life satisfaction; where dissatisfaction is related to other problems, work is frequently seen as part of the solution. The respondent's rating of how much she enjoyed her work, and the presence of a job-related response to the "What's missing?" question, proved to be the two most important predictors of life satisfaction, in a multivariate analysis controlling for such factors as respondent's education, employment status, marital status, parental education and occupation, husband's education and occupation, and whether the respondent would do anything different about any of four areas we had asked about (getting an education, planning a career, getting married, and having children.)

As I indicated earlier, the pattern of results based on the "interesting and satisfying life" item is very similar to that obtained with the self-esteem variable, and you may wonder if the two measures are really different, or whether they are simply telling us the same thing. That they are not measuring exactly the same thing is shown by their different relationships to another question which appeared to tap an important source of life satisfaction or dissatisfaction.

Husbands' Sharing of Household Tasks. We asked respondents to rate their own and their husbands' attitudes about sharing responsibilities for housekeeping and child-care tasks. (We used a seven-point scale, one end of which represented the view that the husband should have no responsibility for such tasks, and the other end the view that he should share equal responsibility for such tasks.) Overall, 40 percent of our married respondents described their own attitude as falling at the equal-responsibility end of the scale, but only 20 percent reported their husbands as holding such a view. (Not surprisingly, responses to both these items were related to age, with younger respondents expressing more non-traditional attitudes, for themselves and their husbands. Responses were also related to work status: since we asked them to respond in terms of their own life situation, women who were not employed at the time, regardless of career orientation, were less apt to say that husbands should share equal responsibility.)

When we assessed the impact of the husband's perceived attitude on the respondent's self-esteem and life satisfaction, we found that, controlling for the effect of other factors, husband's attitude had little effect on self-esteem, but it proved to be one of the more important predictors of life satisfaction. That is, women who perceived their husbands as willing to share these responsibilities expressed greater satisfaction with their current lives. Intuitively I feel this finding makes sense, and does suggest that the two measures, self-esteem and life satisfaction, are not identical. They are of course related, since they are both affected by such factors as career satisfaction and congruence between employment status and career orientation.

Graduate Degrees and Life Satisfaction. Working career-oriented women who are satisfied with their lives are more likely to have earned graduate degrees than are the career women who are not satisfied, or than the non-career women, whether satisfied or not. Those who are interested in careers, but not working now, are less apt to have earned graduate degrees, and are more apt to say that they have not finished their education yet. Those with graduate degrees are also more likely to be working full-time than are other women, and it appears that those who have earned graduate degrees as returning women are more likely to be working full-time than those who earned similar degrees at an earlier point in their lives--right after college, for example, or before marriage. Some of our respondents commented that if they had had to make a relatively permanent career choice in their early twenties, they would not have chosen the field that now interests them--that is, they feel they would have made a less appropriate choice--and they feel that the "multi-career" patpern, in which they were interested in one thing 20 years ago, and something else 10 years ago, and still something else now, has been a viable pattern, and perhaps the only wya they could have arrived at their present career, which they find satisfying.

Indeed, it is interesting to note that those women who have returned to work after a major period out of the labor force--say, five years or more--do not look very different on most of our measures from those who have not had such an interruption. Since a woman who completed her education early and launched a career which she found satisfying and appropriate would not typically have come to the Center, many of our respondents with the most continuous work histories are those who have always faced economic pressures to work, and who therefore did not have the opportunity to complete as much education as they would have liked, and to prepare for more satisfying careers. So we should not expect, in such a group, that uninterruped work histories would necessarily lead to greater career or life satisfaction.

Home-to-Work Patterns. Women who have made a successful transition to employment after a signficant period as a homemaker demonstrate an astonishing variety of patterns, with respect to the actual chronological sequence in which they have finished college, married, worked, stayed home, gone to graduate school, and returned to work. While the order I have just outlined is perhaps the most typical for women who married and never experienced any marital disruption--that is, B.A., marriage, employment, a period as homemaker only, then a graduate degree, and employment again--many have gone through much more complicated sequences, involving several transitions into and out of the labor force, and sometimes several periods of enrollment in school. Their histories, it seems to me, are not very well described by any sort of simple "mid-life crisis" account.

When I think of how to sum up the experiences of the women we have surveyed, I think of Robert White's discussion of competence--that competence is, in essence, dealing effectively with one's environment.[3] It seems to me that that is exactly what many of our respondents have done, because, of course, dealing effectively with the environemnt would include dealing with changes in that environment. As norms and opportunities as well as economic and personal circumstances have changed, our respondents changed their life patterns in the ways that seemed most appropriate for them.

One study of mid-life career changes in men has described such changes as falling into one of three categories: those brought on by some major event which necessitated a career change; those in which there was a clear rejection of, or strong idssatisfaction with, the earlier career; and those in which the new career grew out of, not a strong rejection of the old, but rather from a gradual sense of being ready for new challenges or new growth.[2] Obviously this framework could be applied to our women, and what I am suggesting is that many of them would fall in the third category, if you define the homemaking years as the first career. Our respondents' comments on this process, do not suggest a sense of euphoria about the change. One finds instead a rather realistic assessment not only of the benefits and values of their current patterns, but of the costs as well. The working woman can frequently list a number of significant and satisfying activities for which she no longer has time. But whether that list depresses her assessment of how interesting and satisfying her life is depends on the satisfactions and rewards associated with the new activities. Where the balance is negative, she is not very happy; where it is positive, the missing activities do not lead to a decrement in life satisfaction. Certainly, the non-career woman who has to work when she would prefer not to is just as unhappy as the career woman who is not working but would like to be. Indeed, the reason that the measure of how much a woman enjoys the work she is doing is such a strong predictor of life satisfaction is that if a woman is working at a job that she does not enjoy, but obviously cannot afford to leave, you have a pretty strong clue that perhaps quite a bit about her life situation is not very satisfactory. The data suggest that the loss or absence of a satisfying love relationship is more devastating--causes a greater decrement in life satisfaction--to the non-career woman than it is to the career woman. The non-career woman simply has less to buttress her self-esteem, fewer resources out of which to build at least a reasonably satisfying life pattern, than does the woman with already established career goals and satisfactions.

The data also suggest that if one compared those who cite the lack of career satisfaction as a factor missing in their lives, with those who cite a lack of a satisfying love relationship, it appears that the missing job satisfaction may more clearly set an upper limit to the sense of having an interesting and satisfying life, than does the missing love relationship. (Clearly,those who have neither of these problems are the most likely to be satisfied, and those who have both are the most likely to be dissatisfied.) But among those who mention only one of these problems, of those who cite the lack of a love relationship, nearly half (48.5 percent) nevertheless fall in our satisfied category, while of those who mention only the lack ofjob satisfaction, only 34 percent fall in the satisfied category. Since we generally take for granted that women understand the importance of love, perhaps this is a fitting time to recall the dictum that "love is not enough," and to suggest that this applies not only to the rearing of psychologicall healthy children, but to adult development as well.

REFERENCES

1. Manis, Jean D. and Markus, Hazel, "Combining Families and Careers: View from--and of--Different Points of the Life Cycle," in *Changing Family, Changing Workplace: New Research*. Ann Arbor, Mich., Center for Continuing Education of Women, 1980. See also Manis and Markus, "Careers and Career Attitudes: Ages, Education, and Timing Effects," paper presented at American Psychological Association meetings, August 30, 1978, Toronto.

2. Clopton, Willard C., "An Exploratory Study of Career Changes in Middle Life," unpublished doctoral dissertation, 1972. (Cited in "Description of Proposed Activities," Committee on Work and Personality in the Middle Years, Social Science Research Council, June, 1973.)

3. White, R.W., "Motivation Reconsidered: The Concept of Competence." *Psychology Review* (1959) 66, 297-333.

CHANGES IN PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING DURING THE 1970's OF HOMEMAKERS AND EMPLOYED WIVES

Angus Campbell

In 1971 the Institute for Social Research completed an interview survey of the national population in which it presented to its 2,164 respondents a series of questions intended to measure various aspects of psychological well-being. From this survey it was possible to develop a statement describing the well-being of married women who are not employed outside the home (homemakers) and married women who have outside employment (working wives) (Campbell, 1976). A similar survey completed in 1978 now permits us to make a second comparison of the lives of homemakers and working wives and to document the changes which may have occurred during the intervening seven years.

The years between 1971 and 1978 were not a tranquil period in the history of this country and many of the events that occurred had particular relevance for women. Setting aside the political turmoil associated with the winding down of the Viet Nam War and the Watergate episode, we see the following changes in the situation of women:

1. The number of women completing college degrees continued to rise and at the level of the Bachelor's Degree came close to that of men. The number of women taking graduate degrees also increased significantly, although in most cases it fell well short of that of men.

2. The increase in the number of divorces affected both men and women, but women were less likely to remarry. The proportion of women 18 and older who were single (separated, divorced, widowed, or never married), which had been 30 percent in 1971, was 36 percent in 1978.

3. The decline in the birthrate, which had begun in the early 1960s, reached an all-time low during the 1970s. The "ideal" family size, which had been seen as three or four children during the 1950s, had come down to not more than two children.

4. There was a phenomenal increase during the 1970s in the number of married women who were employed. The 1971 survey found 40 percent of married women to be employed outside the home; in 1978 the proportion was 54 percent, an increase of a third from the 1971 level.

   This increase was seen throughout the educational ladder. College women have been more likely to be employed than other women ever since the Second World War, but women at all educational levels were more likely to be employed in 1978 than they had been in 1971, as Table 1 demonstrates.

TABLE 1

Proportions of Married Women Employed: 1971-1978
(By Educational Level)

	No high school	Some high school	High school graduate	Some college	College graduate
1971	22	35	42	49	57
1978	38	48	52	63	73

5. Between 1971 and 1978 there was a great increase in public discussion of women's issues, and presumably a considerable amount of consciousness-raising. Although the "women's movement" had begun to attract attention during the 1960s, one is reminded that it was not until 1972 that the magazine *Ms.* began to publish, that the Supreme Court decision on abortion came in 1973, that Title IX only began to take effect during the latter part of the decade, and the First National Women's conference did not convene until 1975. All this was accompanied by a great outpouring of books and articles on women's roles and related issues.

These events during the 1970s must have had tremendous impact on the lives of a great many women. We may wonder whether they have also changed the general situation of women who are homemakers as compared to that of married women who are employed. In 1971 we found very little difference between these two groups of women in their evaluation of their marriage and family life, and in their general statements of well-being. Being employed seemed to make a difference in the feelings of well-being of college graduate women but not to women at any of the other educational levels. What would we expect to find in 1978?

It would not have been surprising to find that the events and changes which took place during the 1970s resulted in a pattern of attitudes and satisfactions among married women who were employed that was considerably more positive than among those who were homemakers. This would seem a reasonable prediction if we assume that women generally would rather be employed than remain at home. According to this theory, more and more women were liberated during the 1970s from traditional concepts of women's roles; they were more willing to leave the home and seek a work career. As they have become increasingly aware of other options, they have increasingly found the role of homemaker unsatisfying. Those who have gone into the job market have found their jobs more interesting and rewarding than housework, and they prefer the challenge of a dual role life to the more restricted life of a homemaker. Those who have remained in the home would prefer to take a job but they are prevented from doing so by the necessity of taking care of small children or of an aging parent. Perhaps they are married to a husband who objects to his wife working. Whatever the cause, they are in a situation they would prefer to be out of.

If we accept this theory we would conclude that the women who are going into the labor force are fulfilling their own wish and have every reason to be satisfied with their lives. We should find that those who remain in the home for reasons beyond their control would be generally less happy and less content with their situation. The increasing levels of female employment should result then in an increasing body of married women who are leading fulfilling, stimulating lives as employed women, and a diminishing number of women living as homemakers but frustrated with the lack of challenge in their lives and resentful of being "only a housewife."

It may be, however, that the increasing employment of women comes from quite a different kind of motivation, that women go into the labor market reluctantly because of economic pressure, and that as a group those who remain in the role of homemakers are happier and more satisfied with life than those who are employed. It may be that most women do not in fact find the role of homemaker boring, confining and uncongenial, that they value the nurturant roles they play and find them fulfilling. They may find some housework drudgery but much of it pleasant. The jobs they see their friends taking may seem generally poorly paid, routine, low status, promising little in the way of a work career. The women's movement has not convinced them that housework is an isolated trap from which they need to be rescued.

If we believed this theory was a realistic description of most married women, we would conclude that the increase in the number of

TABLE 2

PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING OF HOMEMAKERS, EMPLOYED WIVES AND UNEMPLOYED WOMEN: 1971 and 1978

1971			1978			
Home-makers (445)	Employed wives (291)	Unemployed women (29)	Home-makers (510)	Employed wives (599)	Unemployed women (107)	
35%	39%	14%	35%	38%	16%	say they are "very happy these days"
--	--	--	29%	40%	24%	score high on the Bradburn scale of positive affect
--	--	--	36%	34%	16%	score low on the Bradburn scale or negative affect
--	--	--	17%	18%	42%	say they have had less than their reasonable share of happiness in life
69%	66%	52%	67%	67%	41%	say they are very satisfied with their lives as a whole
--	--	--	52%	55%	45%	say they are very satisfied with self as a person
38%	37%	14%	38%	41%	19%	score high on the ISR scale of personal control of life

TABLE 2 (Cont'd.)

	1978			1978		
Home-makers	Employed wives	Unemployed women	Home-makers	Employed wives	Unemployed women	
77%	74%	82%	76%	74%	49%	say they are very satisfied with their family life
73%	62%	50%	66%	49%	45%	say they are very satisfied with their housework
82%	76%	--	85%	80%	65%	say they are very satisfied with their marriage
57%	58%	--	60%	54%	49%	say they "never" or "rarely" disagree with their husband about how much money to spend
42%	43%	--	41%	42%	37%	say they think their husband understands them "very well"
39%	37%	--	39%	32%	40%	say they share companionship with with husband "all the time"
20%	31%	11%	14%	28%	15%	say they "always feel rushed even to do the things you have to do"
24%	12%	14%	26%	14%	12%	say they find their lives very "easy"
16%	12%	21%	13%	12%	22%	say they sometimes "worry they might have a nervous breakdown"

employed women must have created a discrepancy in the average well-being of homemakers and employed wives, with the former generally positive because they are where they want to be and the latter generally negative because a good many of them are in the work force not out of preference but out of financial necessity.

However convincing either of these scenarios may appear to be, a comparison of the data from the 1971 and 1978 surveys shows us that neither one of them provides an accurate description of what has actually happened. Despite the important changes that were occurring in the situation of women during the 1970s, the general pattern of psychological well-being reported by married women throughout the country remained very much the same through the decade, and homemakers still resembled working wives just as closely at the end of the decade as they had at the beginning.

The Institute for Social Research surveys contained a battery of different indicators of how people feel about their lives and the findings from the two years are summarized in Table 2.

1. The most frequently used measure of positive affect is the conventional question of "how happy are you these days?" The answers given to this question by married women were almost identical in 1971 and 1978 and housewives did not differ from working wives in either year.

   In 1965 Norman Bradburn developed a series of questions regarding recent affective experiences, positive and negative. These questions were asked in the 1978 survey, although they had not been asked in 1971. Working wives were marginally more likely to report positive experiences than homemakers, but the two groups did not differ in their report of negative experiences.

   The 1978 survey introduced a new question which read: "Considering everything, would you say that up to now you have had all the happiness a person can reasonably expect in life or have you had less than your share or more than your share?" Most people feel they have had neither more or less than their share; a minority say they have had less than they feel they could have reasonably expected, and homemakers and working wives are very similar in giving this response.

2. Measures of satisfaction require an act of judgment on the part of the respondents. They are asked to compare their present situation to the situation they aspire to, had hoped to achieve, or feel they deserve. Dissatisfaction may simply reflect an ambition to achieve more than one has but more commonly it is associated with feelings of disappointment or resentment at not having what one thinks he or she deserves. It is generally not a positive experience.

In both the 1971 and 1978 surveys homemakers and employed wives were asked to tell us how satisfied they were with "their lives as a whole." As Table 2 demonstrates, about two out of three of these women placed themselves in the top levels of this scale and there was no difference either between the two groups of women or in the two years.

In 1978 a new question asked: "How satisfied or dissatisfied would you say you are with yourself as a person?" Here again we found no difference of consequence between homemakers and working wives. If homemaking were generally seen as a demeaning role and work for pay fulfilling, one might have expected to find differences in answers to this question but they do not appear.

The Institute for Social Research has been experimenting for some years with a series of items which we call the Scale of Personal Control of Life. It presents the respondents a series of six questions asking them in various ways whether they feel they control their own lives or are controlled by outside forces. Individual women differ a great deal in answering these questions but having a paid job had very little relationship to whether they answer them positively or negatively in either 1971 or 1978.

Most women are very satisfied with their family life--"the time you spend and the things you do with members of your family." This did not change during the decade and there was no difference between homemakers and working wives. There was a difference, however, in the satisfaction these women expressed in their housework. The question read: "Overall, how satisfied are you with being a homemaker--I don't mean with your family life but with your housework?" In 1971 employed wives had been visibly less willing to say that they were very satisfied with their housework than homemakers were and this difference persisted in 1978. But as the table shows, there was a general decline in satisfaction with housework between the two years which affected both groups of women, the employed somewhat more than the homemakers.

3. There is an unsettled dispute as to the effect taking a job has on a woman's marriage. Some have argued that the marriage will be enhanced because the woman becomes a more fulfilled person, but others have attributed the rising divorce rate to the increase in employment among married women. Our surveys cannot settle this argument because they do not follow specific women from the home into a job, but they can compare the way homemakers and employed wives describe their marriages.

Most women, like most men, say they are very satisfied with their marriage, but in both 1971 and 1978 employed wives were slightly less positive in this evaluation. The difference is not large, it is not "statistically significant" but it has occurred twice. On the other hand, despite the fact that more married women were employed in 1978 than in 1971, there was not a general decline in employed wives' satisfaction with their marriage. If anything, there was a slight increase.

Four additional questions about marriage were asked in the interviews, concerning disagreements about money, mutual understanding between husband and wife, and amount of companionship. In 1971 the two groups of women answered these four questions almost identically. In 1978 there was some tendency for the employed wives to give somewhat less positive answers to these questions than they had in 1971, and their answers were slightly less positive than those of the homemakers. Again these are very small differences, possibly the result of sampling error, but they may be the beginnings of a trend which will become more significant in later surveys.

4. Several questions were asked in the surveys intended to assess the amount of strain the respondents felt in their everyday lives. It is clear from the data in Table 2 that employed wives are more likely than homemakers to "feel rushed even to do the things you have to do" and they are less likely to describe their lives as very "easy." These differences are rather substantial and easily understandable in view of the fact that working wives have considerably less free time in an average day than homemakers have. However, it is particularly interesting that this greater feeling of time pressure is not associated with a greater worry about having a nervous breakdown. The number of women who worry about a nervous breakdown was not very great in either group and it did not change appreciably between 1971 and 1978.

Despite the numerous small differences between homemakers and employed wives that we see in these data and an occasional suggestion of trends in perceptions and attitudes during the decade of the 1970s, a conservative reading of the evidence in Table 2 would have to conclude that there was remarkably little difference between these two groups of women either in 1971 or 1978. The only clear change between the two years was the decline in satisfaction with housework, and the only other difference between homemakers and employed wives was the latter's greater sense of pressure on their free time. Otherwise there was an impressive similarity in the way the two groups of women described their lives. Neither of our suggested theories seems to fit the data. Working wives are not generally more positive about their lives than homemakers nor is the opposite true. In spite of undoubted changes in public attitudes toward women's roles that were taking place during this period and substantial changes in the life situation of a great many individual women, these surveys of psychological well-being showed the same pattern in 1978 they had shown in 1971.

The fact that most women describe their lives in generally positive terms suggests that most women are in the situation they prefer--homemakers prefer to be in their homes and working wives prefer to be working. This becomes more than a suggestion when we look at the answers homemakers give when we ask the following question: "If you could have someone to take care of things here at home, would you like to take an outside job right now, or are you happy enough to be at home?" When this question was asked in the 1971 survey, four out of five married women who were not working said they were happy enough to stay at home. The proportion of married women who were not employed was smaller in 1978 but the proportion preferring to stay home remained the same, four out of five. It is interesting to note that in both years the preference for home was strongest among women with the least formal education.

A comparable question was asked of working wives, "If you were to get enough money to live as comfortably as you'd like for the rest of your life would you continue to work?" In 1971 about three out of five working wives answered this iffy question by saying they would want to continue working. In 1978 the proportion had risen to three out of four, virtually the same proportion we find among working men. The proportion of wives who worked had increased during the intervening years and their commitment to work, even in the absence of economic motivation, had also increased. The work role appeared to be assuming the same meaning for women that it had for men.

If the large majority of homemakers and employed wives are in the situation they prefer, as their responses to these two questions would indicate, it is not surprising that their feelings of well-being are generally positive and that they are equally positive. It might be argued, however, that these differences in situation are not very important, that individual differences in feelings of well-being are determined by personality characteristics which are distributed randomly through the population, that homemakers and working wives on the average have the same natural inclination toward happiness or unhappiness. It is not possible to reject this hypothesis totally; personality undoubtedly does have an influence on sense of well-being. But it is possible to demonstrate that feelings of well-being differ very significantly according to the life situation the person is in. This is shown quite dramatically in Table 2 where unemployed women are compared to homemakers and employed wives. Only a third of these unemployed women are married; a good many of them are separated or divorced and they clearly have problems other than their unemployment. Their description of their lives is consistently and substantially more negative than that of the other two groups of women. This pattern is very similar to that found among unemployed men; being without a job seems to be about as traumatic an experience for women who are the labor force as it is for men.

In our earlier report of data from the 1971 survey a comparison was made of the feelings of well-being expressed by women at different levels of education. This report concluded that there were no differences of any consequence between homemakers and employed wives of different educational achievement except among the college graduates. In 1971 married college graduate women who were employed seemed more positive both about their marriage and their life in general than married women of equal education who were not employed. The difference was not substantial but it was consistent with some sociological theorizing about the implications of work for married women. A similar analysis performed on the 1978 data finds that this difference has completely disappeared. Married college graduate women who work are no more or less positive about their life or their marriage than those who stay home.

This reversal of the 1971 finding begs for an explanation. The simplest answer would attribute the 1971 difference to sampling error. The number of college graduate women in the 1971 survey was quite small, and it is possible that a larger sample would have found no difference between those who worked and those who did not. But it is also possible that there has been a change in these college graduate women during the period between the two surveys. We know that there was a substantial increase in the proportion of these women who were employed; in 1971 the proportion reported being currently employed was 57 percent; in 1978 it was 73 percent. Perhaps in 1971 those who were homemakers included some women who would have preferred to be employed and were dissatisfied with staying home. If it was these women who took employment during the ensuing years we should then find that those who remained as homemakers were as a group more happy and satisfied with their lives than the whole group had been in 1971. This is speculative of course; we do not know it was precisely these women who changed from homemakers to employed wives. Without a panel study following the original 1971 sample through the next seven years we cannot be sure that it was a shift of this kind that closed the gap in feelings of well-being that existed between these two groups of women in 1971.

Conclusions

Despite the belief in some circles that the psychological well-being of married women would be enhanced if they got out of their homes and took a job, there is no reason to believe from the Institute for Social Research's surveys in 1971 and 1978 that the substantial increase during the 1970s in the proportion of married women who are employed has either increased the psychological well-being of women in general or created a difference in average well-being between married women who are employed and those who are not. There is nothing in the survey evidence to justify the assumption that the workplace is inherently a better place for women that the home or vice versa. It is surely a better place for some women but most women who remain in the home say they prefer to stay there and they seem as happy and satisfied with their lives as employed women are with theirs.

There is obviously a great deal of self-selection into and out of the labor force going on among married women. In some countries of the world the proportion of married women who work is not very different from that of men; their options are not very great. This is still not the situation in this country; many or most married women have a realistic choice between being a homemaker and taking a job. For the most part these women seem to be sorting themselves into the roles they prefer at that stage of their lives. Over the last 30 years and especially the last 10 years the proportion of married women who are making the employment choice has been increasing. These women are making this choice for a variety of reasons but they have not left behind a population of envious, disgruntled, frustrated homemakers who are suffering under what has been called the "housewife's trauma."

Individual women, like individual men, have different values, different aspirations, different abilities and talents, and live in different circumstances. At different stages of their life cycle they may regard one role or the other as most attractive and rewarding and they may move from home to job and back again as they find each role more appropriate at that particular time. As long as they have the choice, it is safe to assume that married women will take the alternative that seems to them at that time to contribute the most to their psychological well-being.

Bibliography

Campbell, A. "Women at Home and at Work," in D. McGuigan (Ed.), New Research on Women and Sex Roles. Ann Arbor, Mi.: Center for Continuing Education of Women, The University of Michigan, 1976.

WIDOWHOOD AND WELL-BEING

Janet A. Kohen

The widowed are survivors who have outlived their spouses and their marriages. Of all marital status categories, they are least likely to have adopted their status voluntarily. They, like the divorced and separated, grieve the loss of their marital role.[1] In addition, they grieve the loss of their particular spouse and the interpersonal satisfactions resulting from their marital relationship.[2] They begin widowhood with the emotional distress associated with grief and bereavement. At the same time they are faced with the tasks of repatterning their lives around being alone and establishing sources of intimacy and support to replace what were provided by their spouses. Often these socio-emotional tasks are combined with such concrete problems as housing, income, living arrangements, and transportation at a time in the surviving spouse's life when health and energy are declining.

Unfortunately, few married people anticipate and prepare for the transition away from marriage, nor do the social patterns of our society provide much support for the formerly married.[3] Older people may be even less prepared than younger people, since the current increase in the divorce rate makes it more likely that younger adults have friends and acquaintances who have made the transition and can share their experiences. Furthermore, younger adults tend to have more resources available to them, at least in education and the possibility of employment. Since widowhood tends to be a marital status predominant among the elderly, the difficulties of reorganizing their lives added to the problems of bereavement may underlie their diminished well-being commonly reported in the social science literature.[4]

However, the state of well-being of the widowed may not be solely a function of their marital status. They differ from other marital groups on a number of social indices. In general, they are older. In 1970, the majority of widowed were over 65.[5] Because opportunities for education and norms of educational attainment have increased substantially over the past century, the widowed tend to have fewer years of formal education.[6] They are also more likely to be poor, with older widowed women over-represented among the poor in the population.[7] Since age, income, and education tend to be indicators of the quality of life, the over-representation of poverty, old age, and low educational attainment among the widowed may contribute to their diminished well-being in addition to the strains of widowhood.[8]

Widows and Widowers. One characteristic not yet mentioned is the sex composition of the widowed adults in our society. Sex differentials in mortality and the normative expectation that women marry men older than themselves have made widowhood a marital status disproportionately experienced by women. The ratio of widows to widowers has increased from 2:1 in the early part of the nineteenth century to over 5:1 in 1977.[9] While the social and psychological impact of widowhood may be equally difficult for both men and women, the large majority of those who must cope with the death of a spouse and the problems of building a new life for themselves are women.

Some studies also indicate that women may cope differently with widowhood than men. In general women tend to form more friendships than men,[10] and this pattern continues among the elderly. As a result, older married men are more reliant on their wives for intimacy and affection, increasing the social disruption that follows when their wives die.[11] To the extent that friendships of women can replace the companionship and intimacy of a spouse, they may reduce the impact of widowhood for these women. On the other hand, contact with relatives and family tends to figure more prominently in the lives of widowed men than widowed women and may provide the same functions for them as friends and neighbors do for widows.

The Widowed View Their Mental Health. Data collected by Veroff, Douvan, and Kulka from randomly selected national samples in 1957 and 1976 designed to assess mental health, provide a unique opportunity to describe the general life circumstances of the widowed and to explore the relationship between widowhood and various measures of well-being.[12] These samples included 11.4 percent and 13.6 percent widowed persons in 1957 and 1976 respectively.

The social characteristics of the widowed in these samples were similar to those reported in the census and in other studies. From 1957 to 1976 the proportion of widowed women in the sample increased relative to widowed men, and the number over 55 years of age also increased. By 1976, 87 percent of widowed men and women were in that age category. The number of widowed with grade school education was significantly greater than those with grade school education in other marital categories for both 1957 and 1976, although by 1976 the number had dropped below 50 percent. In standardized 1976 dollars the widowed were the poorest of all marital groups; about 65 percent of the widowed men and about 80 percent of widowed women had incomes of less than $8,000 a year for both 1957 and 1976. Women accounted for 79 percent of the widowed sample in 1957 and 85 percent by 1976.

Well-being of Widowed. The evaluation of well-being among the widowed was done using multivariate statistical techniques with two separate analyses. The first analysis involved comparing the widowed to all other marital status categories on a variety of mental health measures for each sex in 1957 and 1976 samples. The results give an overall picture of the situation of the widowed, reflecting not just the strains of their marital status but those associated with their particular social and economic situation, as well as any changes from 1957 to 1976. The second analysis involved the same comparisons of mental health measures and marital status, but the effects of sex, education, age, and year of interview were standardized or controlled. The results in this second analysis indicated the impact of widowhood on well-being irrespective of these characteristics, except insofar as they make a unique contribution to the marital role itself. The measures of well-being included general affective orientations such as happiness, personality self-assessments, measures of mental and physical health, and orientations to marriage, parenthood, and children.

A summary of the results from the first analysis indicated that the widowed are more apt to evaluate their character in positive ways, but they also tend to be not too happy about their current situation and very unhappy about their futures. In addition, they report more symptoms of physical ill health. Among all adult men, widowed men are more likely to say they never worry and to see marriage as both positive and non-restrictive. At the same time they are more apt to report themselves as sometimes inadequate parents. Widowed women, on the other hand, are less likely than other women to view themselves as inadequate parents and are more likely to view children as positive and non-restrictive. On the negative side, they are more likely to score high on anxiety.

While these findings present an overall view of the emotional state of the widowed in part they also reflect other social characteristics. For instance, the higher symptoms of ill health among the widowed as compared to the non-widowed may not be a result of their marital status but rather of age and education.

The second analysis provided a more accurate picture of the well-being of the widowed as compared to non-widowed adults of the same age, education, and sex by year of their interview. The results indicated that compared to adults with similar social characteristics, the widowed do not report any greater degree of ill health, worries, anxiety, or strength of personality. However, they continue to be more likely to evaluate themselves as not too happy and less likely to see their future as very happy. As a group they are more positive about marriage, less likely to see it as restrictive, and more positive about children, although they are also more likely to see themselves as inadequate parents sometimes. Of particular interest was widowed women's tendency to view themselves as positive when compared to non-widowed women and all other men.

Overall, adults of the same age, education and sex share many characteristics regardless of their marital status. Yet widowed adults do view themselves and their world in distinct ways. Their overly positive view of marriage and parenthood may reflect an idealization of the lost marriage and the lost spouse which may interfere with their acceptance of widowhood. They mention death of the spouse more often than any other event as the unhappiest time of their lives. They are also more likely to mention the end of their marriages as the source of their current unhappiness. While this overly positive view of marriage might suggest that their generally lower level of happiness is a function of the loss of their marital partner rather than the characteristics of their current lives, this does not seem to be the case. They are positive about marriage regardless of their level of current happiness.

Health and Social Life. Happiness, instead, appeared to be related to the quality of their present lives. Health was particularly important. Both widowed men and women reported higher levels of happiness if they were in better health. In addition, frequency of visiting seemed to be an important factor for the level of happiness among widows.

The social life of widowed women also contributed to the more positive view they had of themselves. Although widowed adults visited friends and relatives more than married adults, particularly in 1976, and widowed women did not tend to visit any more than widowed men, friendships apparently provided unique benefits for widowed women.

Widowed women who were positive about themselves tended to visit more and to be more satisfied with their friends than widows who were neutral or negative about themselves. Visiting was not related to a positive sense of self for married men or women. (Conclusions about widowed men were limited by the small number in the sample.) Furthermore, the role of friends seems to have taken on increased importance for widows from 1957 to 1976. For widows in the late 50s visiting provided a means to talk over worries, and a high frequency of visiting was related to lower levels of worrying. For widows in 1976, visiting was also related to satisfaction with friends and more happiness about the future.

Conclusions. Simply being widowed does not seem to be related to diminished well-being over a wide range of mental health measures. On the other hand, the widowed are more positive toward a marriage they no longer have and are more unhappy about the present and the future. Yet widowed women tend to be more positive about themselves than either other women or men. Nevertheless, their emotional outlook is not simply a function of being widowed. While methods of analysis may make it possible to make social characteristics equivalent across marital groups in order to isolate the effects of widowhood on adults, the social situation of widowed people does not consequently change. Over 80 percent of the widowed are still women. They are still poor. They are still old. Their lives reflect these characteristics. Widowed women may feel positive about themselves because they have maintained and built a social network which is helpful to them. They may also feel positive simply because they have survived.

Public Policy Changes Needed. The results of this analysis suggest two general areas of public policy. The first is concrete, relating to the social and material resources of the elderly. Better health care, greater financial security, permanence and adequacy of housing would make some aspects of widowhood less disruptive, because they would assure a better quality of life to the elderly regardless of their marital status.

The second area of public policy is more complex. On the one hand, the mourning of marriage, and, on the other hand, the importance of both the frequency and quality of social networks for the widowed suggests that the isolation of the family and the emphasis on marriage as the primary locus for the emotional health of both adults and children, and particularly for adult males, may have deleterious consequences for well-being. Safer neighborhoods, housing which is not isolated or limited to elderly ghettos, and better mass transportation provide a foundation for building and using social networks by the widowed and the elderly in general. In the long run, however, all of us must contemplate being elderly, and women in particular are likely to face being elderly widows. Changes in social patterns and social attitudes may encourage institutions--employers, social service agencies, schools, hospitals--to share the responsibilities for the well-being of those who spend parts of their lives in them. Such help may provide relief for families and marriages and encourage social networks which support people throughout their life cycles.

FOOTNOTES

1. Robert S. Weiss, *Marital Separation* (New York: Basic Books, 1975).

2. Helena Znaniecki Lopata, *Widowhood in an American City* (Cambridge: Schenkman, 1973).

3. Janet A. Kohen, Carol A. Brown, and Roslyn Feldberg, "Divorced Mothers: The Costs and Benefits of Female Family Control," in George Levinger and Oliver C. Moles, Eds. *Divorce and Separation: Context, Causes, and Consequences* (New York: Basic Books, 1979); W. J. Goode, *After Divorce* (New York and

Chicago: Free Press, 1956); Lopata, *Widowhood*.

4. Gary R. Lee, "Marriage and Morale in Later Life." *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, Vol. 40, No. 1, pp. 131-139; Norval D. Glenn, "The Contribution of Marriage to the Psychological Well-being of Males and Females," *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, Vol. 37, No. 3, pp. 594-599.

5. Walter C. McKain, "A New Look at Older Marriages." *Family Coordinator*, Vol. 21, pp. 61-69.

6. Lopata, *Widowhood*; Marc Petrowsky, "Marital Status, Sex, and the Social Networks of the Elderly," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* Vol. 38, No. 4, pp. 749-756.

7. Carol D. Harvey and Howard M. Bahr, "Widowhood, Morale, and Affiliation," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* , Vol. 36, No. 1, pp. 97-106; Lopata, *Widowhood*; Felix M. Berardo, "Widowhood Status in the United States: Perspective on a Neglected Aspect of the Family Life Cycle," *The Family Coordinator*, Vol. 17, pp. 191-203.

8. Harvey and Bahr, 1974; Ira W. Hutchinson, III, "The Significance of Marital Status for Morale and Life Situation among Lower-Income Elderly," *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, Vol. 37, No. 1, pp. 287-293.

9. Lopata, *Widowhood*; U. S. Bureau of the Consus, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 323, 1978.

10. Alan Booth, "Sex and Social Participation." *American Sociological Review*, Vol 37, No. 1, pp. 183-193,

11. Edward A. Powers and Gordon L. Bultena, "Sex Differences in Intimate Friendships of Old Age." *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, Vol. 38, No. 4, pp. 739-748.

12. For a discussion of sampling procedures and methodology for the 1957 study, see G. Gurin, J. Veroff, and Sheila Feld, *Americans View Their Mental Health*, (New York: Basic Books, 1960). The 1976 study replicated this earlier study using similar sampling and methodology.

VII.

WOMEN AND HEALTH

SOCIAL NETWORKS AND HEALTH BEHAVIOR

Charlene Depner
and
Lois M. Verbrugge

Each of us has a "social network," a collection of relationships with family, friends, co-workers, and so on. This investigation examines the way individuals use their networks when they become ill.

Social scientists have been interested in networks for quite some time, but only recently have networks been the subject of rigorous research. As early as 1922 Simmel was writing about "the web of group affiliations" which characterizes each person's life (Simmel, 1955). Each individual was seen as the nexus of a complex net of relationships, linking close associates and the larger society. Salloway and Dillon (1973) suggest that one of the functions of this network is an adaptive one. The social network aids the individual in interpreting a complex environment and offers aid in coping with difficult circumstances. Indeed, it has been established that network members are a sought-after source of information and support at times of distress and anxiety (Hyman and Singer, 1968; Sussman, 1953).

Several researchers have suggested that the study of individual interactions with society would be facilitated by an understanding of network relationships, which link each individual to the larger social organization (Fisher, 1977; Freidson, 1961; McKindlay, 1972). Specifically, health researchers see network interactions as an important determinant of health behavior. McKindlay (1972) writes:

> "Perhaps it is truistic to point out that the family, its kinship and friendship networks, influences the

> manner in which individuals define and act (or fail to act) upon symptoms or life crises" (p. 129).

Early research began by exploring the relationships between network structure and the use of health facilities. Salloway and Dillon suggested that friendship networks could facilitate contact with health care practitioners, and family networks would delay such contact. Granovetter (1972) and Liu and Duff (1973) made similar predictions about networks characterized by "weak" vs. "strong" ties. More recently it has been suggested that it is the nature of the interactions rather than formal properties of the relationships which has the greatest significance for health behavior (Aday and Anderson, 1975; Reeder, Marcus, and Seeman, 1979).

Very little is known about the process of network interactions. Salloway and Dillon suggest that the individual informs network contacts about symptoms and concerns and that responses of network members affect the individual's further actions. A variety of possible responses are suggested in the literature: interpretation/definition, information, opinion, advice, counsel, "motivational support," shared experience, introduction of competing obligations and encouragement to remain "well" and not claim exemptions provided by the sick role, physical care, supportive services, and introduction of home remedies. Some of these responses encourage the individual to reject the notion that s/he is really ill. Others acknowledge illness and suggest a coping strategy. Reeder et al. have categorized the latter kind of responses as "communication" vs. "support." Networks which function primarily as "communication systems" relate information about formal health care facilities. "Support systems" may offer aid meant as functional substitutes for medical services.

Still very little is actually known about the processes intervening between the onset of illness and the choice of health behavior. There are at least two good reasons for this lack of knowledge. First, until recently social scientists were comfortable relying on certain untested assumptions. For example, it is commonly assumed that men bear illness more stoically, consulting no one and carrying on despite illness. Women, on the other hand, are often portrayed as all too eager to speak with others--including health care professionals--about the most trivial of health problems. One of the greatest contributions of feminist psychology is its insistence on the rigorous testing of such previously accepted, yet untested, assumptions. This insistence has been part of the impetus for recent study of networks and health behavior.

A second reason for the lack of information about the effect of networks on behavior is the very complexity of the phenomenon. Many different dimensions characterize relationships within a network and a network as a whole. It is not clear which dimensions are most salient to the study of the network's impact on health behavior. Research must begin on a very rudimentary and descriptive level, attempting to isolate important details of individual network interactions and subsequent health behavior. The data presented here are only a beginning.

The Data Set. The data used in these analyses come from the Health in Detroit Study, a survey conducted in the fall of 1978 by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research. A representative sample of the Detroit metropolitan area (Wayne, Oakland and Macomb counties) was drawn by the Detroit area study. Seven-hundred fourteen respondents completed a face-to-face retrospective health interview. The interview included questions about personal health history, health care experiences, health attitudes, preventive and curative health actions, and other health-related issues. A second component of the study, a series of daily health diaries, is not yet ready for analysis.

The first question analyzed is one that reads, "When you are not feeling well or think you have a health problem, do you usually discuss it with or mention it to anyone?" One of the prevailing assumptions about sex differences in response to such a question is that men would be more likely to say that they discuss their health problems with no one, an assumption based on the stereotype of male stoicism. Our data do not lend any support to that assumption. Table 1 shows that 71.4 percent of the men and 74.7 percent of the women report that they do indeed speak to someone when they are not feeling well. So there is no sex difference in the tendency to talk with someone about illness. When we look specifically at the identity of the people who are consulted about health problems, collapsing responses across multiple mentions, a few important sex differences do emerge. In Table 2 we see that both men and women are likely to mention a spouse as someone they speak with, but men are more likely to do so than women. Women, on the other hand, are slightly more likely to use family members or friends as confidants about health problems.

In this analysis another important individual emerges as a network person who is consulted about health--the mother of the respondent. Both men and women use mothers as consultants for health problems, and the frequency with which they name mothers is similar to the frequency of all other family members combined. This is a very striking finding in a sample of adults aged 18 years of age and older. The finding is even more striking when one considers that many of the respondents cannot use mother as an eligible response category--that is, their mothers are deceased or live great distances away. If we were able to eliminate such individuals from the calculation, we might find that, for those people who do have mothers, mothers are consulted with an even greater frequency. So, if anything, the percentages are deflated.

Because spouses are so frequently mentioned, we decided to follow this analysis with one conducted exclusively on married respondents. First, we looked at the question of whether or not respondents consult someone when they're ill. Table 3 bears a great deal of resemblance to Table 1. The percentages look very similar for married women and women in general. Married men also resemble men in

Table 1

	No One Mentioned	One Person Mentioned	More Than One Person Mentioned
Men	86 28.6%	150 49.8%	65 21.6%
Women	104 25.3%	140 34.1%	167 40.6%

$x^2 = 30.63$

$p < .01$

Table 2

Whom R Discusses Health Problems With*

	Spouse	Mother	Family	Friends	Health Practitioner
Men	155 55.6%	27 9.7%	40 14.3%	40 14/3%	17 6.1%
Women	179 38.1%	62 13.2%	110 23.4%	94 20.0%	25 5.3%

$x^2 = 24.32$

$p < .001$

*Percentages based on 749 responses to this question.

Table 3

Tendency to Discuss Health Problems With Another*

	No One Mentioned	One Person Mentioned	More Than One Person Mentioned
Men	52 24.3%	121 56.5%	41 19.2%
Women	54 22%	81 33.1%	110 44.9%

$x^2 = 37.57$

*Based on married respondents only (N=459).

general. Thus we find most married men mention one health confidant and most married women mention more than one.

Table 4 dichotomizes the identity of the person consulted, with spouse in one category and all other people in the other category. By doing this we can see that married men are more likely than married women to name a spouse, although both men and women name a spouse more frequently than they name anyone else. What's particularly striking is that men are very likely to name their spouse alone and no one else. Seventy-five percent of men name a spouse. Table 5 shows that of those 153 respondents, 76 percent (116) are likely to name no one further. This pattern of naming a spouse alone is also characteristic of women (see Table 6). But almost equally likely is the pattern of supplementing that contact with another family member. Although some women speak only with their spouse, they are much less likely than married men to do so.

Our data are not such that we can draw any sound conclusions about **why sex** differences exist in the pattern of consultation. Two hypotheses are possible. One is that for men the contact with the spouse is sufficiently adequate to make further contacts unnecessary, but that for women, the contact with the spouse is not adequate; therefore women go to a second consultant. The other possibility is that women begin with a much larger and more differentiated network than men do and have the possibility of numerous contacts, and that men also would make such contacts if they had such a well-elaborated network. We do not have the data to evaluate these two hypotheses.

Table 4

Whom Married Respondent Discuss Health Problems With

	Spouse	Other
Male	153 75.4%	50 24.6%
Female	174 58.2%	125 41.8%

$x^2 = 15.71$
$p < .001$

Table 5

Relationship Between First and Second Mentions*

Second Mention

First Mention	None	Spouse	Family	Friends	Health Practitioner
Spouse	116	0	16	11	8
Family	2	1	1	0	1
Friends	1	0	7	0	0
Health Pract.	2	1	0	0	0

*Based on married male respondents who report that they speak with someone about health problems (N = 162).

Table 6

Relationship Between First and Second Mentions*

First Mention	Second Mentions None	Spouse	Family	Friends	Health Practitioner
Spouse	72	0	57	14	10
Family	5	8	1	3	0
Friends	3	9	2	0	1
Health Pract.	0	4	0	0	0

*Based on married female respondents who report that they speak with someone about health problems (N = 189).

The next set of analyses are based solely on unmarried respondents. We compared unmarried respondents to respondents in general on the question of whether or not they speak with someone when they are ill. Table 7 shows a slight disadvantage for the unmarried respondents. A higher percentage of them report speaking with no one or with only one confidant. More unmarried respondents, particularly men, say they speak to no one when ill. However, unmarried men are also more likely to have more than one confidant. Marital status seems to affect the single-confidant pattern. Unmarried women are less likely than married women to have multiple contacts (although they are still more likely than unmarried men to have them). If we look specifically at whom people contact when they have someone they discuss health problems with (Table 8), we find that unmarried women seem to be turning with nearly equal frequency to family and friends. Men are turning much more frequently to their family contacts, particularly to a mother. Marital status of the respondent does not seem to affect the likelihood with which a woman contacts her mother. About 16 percent of the women report contacts with mothers. On the other hand, married men contact their mothers less often about their health than do unmarried men. One explanation for these results is that mothers function differently in the networks of sons and daughters. For daughters they are long-term, but not exclusive consultants. For sons they play a more active role until the son is married. Age controls are not included in this presentation. It is possible that unmarried men are younger than unmarried women and more likely to have a mother who is living.

If we return to the sample as a whole and look simply at the cross-classification of sex of respondent by sex of confidant, some very striking findings emerge. We find that women are almost equally likely to speak with men and women about health problems, whereas men speak almost exclusively with women. In Table 9, only 4.1 percent of the people who are named as confidants by men are men. This could account for the myth of male stoicism. Men are, in fact, stoic--to other men, but certainly not to their spouses or their mothers. Women seem to be utilizing their social support network in dealing with health problems, and they use both men and women for these contacts.

Next we examine the way in which the respondents themselves are used as confidants for health problems. Unfortunately the interview does not include questions which asked about the kinds of people who contact the respondent with health problems, but it does provide suggestion about the role that respondents play in the networks of others close to them. First, there is the question, "When someone in your household becomes ill, do you usually take care of them or does someone else?" The question is asked only of people who live with at least one other person. Eighty-three percent of the women say that they alone are responsible for the care of the sick in their household. However, another myth seems to be getting less substantiation: 35 percent of the men also report that they alone are responsible for the health care of people in their household. So the involvement of men in health care in their home seems to be sub-

Table 7

Tendency to Discuss Health Problems With Another*

	No One Mentioned	One Person Mentioned	More Than One Person Mentioned
Men	34 39.1%	29 33.3%	24 27.6%
Women	50 30.2%	59 35.5%	57 34.3%

$x^2 = 2.27$
p .32

Table 8

Whom R Discusses Health Problems With*

	Former Spouse	Mother	Family	Friends	Health Practi-tioner
Men	0 %	22 28.2%	22 28.2%	28 35.9%	6 7.7%
Women	1 .5%	29 16.1%	74 41.1%	66 36.7%	10 5.6%

$x^2 = 7.31$
$p < .12$

*Percentage Calculations Based on Unmarried Rs who Report that They Discuss Health Problems with Someone

Table 9

Sex of Respondent by Sex of Person

Health Problem Discussed With*

	Sex of Confidant		
Sex of R	Male	Female	Sex Unspecified
Male	12 4.1%	209 72.1%	69 23.8%
Female	200 39.1%	168 32.9%	143 28.0%

$x^2 = 147.24$

$p < .001$

*Combined across all responses.

stantially higher than one would expect from commonly held assumptions.

The next question analyzed is a question which is typically used to measure the number of stressful life events experienced by a respondent. The question reads, "People sometimes experience changes in their lives. Good things like a raise or a marriage, or bad things like the loss of someone close to them. Has anything like that affected your life in the last year?" Our question allows the possibility of naming events that have happened to other people close to the respondent and not specifically the respondent--such events as a husband losing a job or a child being in a car accident. It was our expectation--and that expectation was confirmed--that women are more likely to report events that have happened to people close to them, and that men are less likely to report such events. Both men and women answered this question more frequently with events that have happened to them directly. However, women are more likely than men to be affected by events in the lives of others. This seems to be striking evidence for the involvement of women in social networks. They not only utilize other people with greater frequency, but they themselves are the object of contact for problems and other needs. This means that women are expending substantial amounts of energy in the support of other people and that they in fact may be subject to the physical concomitants of strain if they become emotionally involved in the stressful experiences of people close to them. This involvement may in and of itself have health implications.

What can we conclude from all this? First of all, we've seen that women are active members in social support networks, that they are the caretakers, they are the confidantes. Also, women are more likely to use their networks more extensively or, alternatively, to have more elaborated networks to rely upon. Men are more likely to be solely reliant on women, either a mother or a spouse typically, for contacts about health problems. As to the implications for health care utilization, no precise conclusions can be drawn. The contents of the interactions are unknown. Further analyses can determine whether people who confide in different sources vary with respect to health behavior. In addition, analyses of the health diaries will allow us to see who is consulted about which health problems and whether differences in health behavior emerge as a function of lay consultation.

References

Aday, L. A., and Anderson, R. "A framework for the study of access to medical care." Unpublished manuscript, Rol. Ward Johnson Foundation, University of Chicago, 1975.

Fisher, C. S. *Networks and Places.* New York: Free Press, 1977.

Freidson, E. *Patients' View of Medical Practice.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1961.

Granovetter, M. S. "The strength of weak ties." *American Journal of Sociology,* 1973, *78*(6), pp. 1360-1380.

Hyman, H. H., and Singer, E. (Eds.). *Readings in Reference Group Theory and Research.* New York: The Free Press, 1968,

Liu, W. T., and Duff, R. W. "The strength of weak ties." *Public Opinion Quarterly,* 1972, *36*(3), pp. 361-366.

McKindlay, J. B. "Some approaches and problems in the study of the use of services: An overview." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior,* 1972, *13,* pp. 115-152.

Reeder, S., Marcus, A. C., and Seeman, T. E. "The influence of social networks on the use of health services." Paper presented at the American Sociological Association meetings, Boston, 1979.

Salloway, J. C., and Dillon, P. B. "A comparison of family networks and friend networks in health care utilization." *Journal of Comparative Family Services,* 1973, pp. 131-142.

Simmel, G. "Conflict and the web of group affiliations." Translated by K. H. Wolff and R. Bendix. Free Press, 1955.

Sussman, M. B. "The isolated nuclear family: Fact or Fiction." In M. Sussman (Ed.), *Sourcebook in Marriage and the Family.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974, pp. 25-30.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN FAMILY HEALTH CARE PLANNING

Toni C. Antonucci and S. Margaret Davies

The purpose of this study was to explore the changing role of women both in their own health care and in the planning and augmentation of their family's health care. Traditionally we have assumed that family health care was the responsibility of the wife and mother, part of her role of family and household care complementing the role of husband and father as worker and family provider. This simple dichotomy of responsibility may no longer be functioning--at the expense of self and family health care.

In the past women tended to work during the years before their marriage and for a time shortly after, generally withdrawing from paid employment with the birth of their first child. Some women remained out of the work force permanently, whereas others returned 15 or 20 years later when their children left home. This pattern has been drastically changing. Now it is common for women to work consistently throughout their childbearing years. Over 40 percent of our work force now consists of women (Seiden, 1976) working not only before marriage, but increasingly after marriage. Women with preschool and school-aged children constitute a fast-growing segment of labor force participants (Department of Labor, 1975; Rones and Leon, 1979).

What effect has this new work pattern had on the assumption of family health care responsibility? Women who work a full eight-hour day outside the home must be confronted with problems of overload as they return to the usual problems of family and house care. Duvall (1977), Vanek (1974) and others have carefully documented the fact that despite working or non-working status the primary responsibility for household tasks falls upon the wife and mother. Duvall reports that today's working mother faces five to six hours of housework and child care after a full working day; in fact, she now holds two jobs instead of one, those of homemaker and employee. Can she continue to care for her own health adequately as well as plan the health care of her family? Clinical experience suggests that children in particular are not receiving the normal and preventive health care they need.

Several studies (Antonucci, Tamir and Dubnoff, 1980; Campbell, Converse and Rodgers, 1971; Gurin, Veroff and Feld, 1957; Veroff, Douvan and Kulka, 1976) indicate that the early parental family life cycle stage puts a greater psychological stress on women than does any other period. When women in the age group 18 to 29 years were surveyed, it was found that women who were married and childless had a very high life satisfaction, whereas women in the same age group who were married and had small children reported a sharp decline in satisfaction. Research and the popular press have documented the "trapped mother syndrome" (Seiden, 1976): that is, the effect on the woman accustomed to having a wide variety of interests outside the home of finding herself totally housebound with the care of her young children, due either to financial constraints or emotional responsibilities. These stresses have traditionally contributed not only to less effective family health care planning on the part of the woman, but to a propensity toward frequent health problems of her own.

Although this tendency for women with young families to have more physical and psychological problems has not been satisfactorily addressed, our concern is how the woman with small children who also maintains full-time employment handles family health care. Working mothers must find adequate child care so that they can feel comfortable away from their children, and they must also maintain continuity of care. Given these pressing daily concerns, it becomes extremely difficult for working mothers to plan preventive health care for their own children. Confronted with a sick child, the working mother is frequently thrown into a frenzy, finding it virtually impossible to provide adequate care for her child under such crisis conditions.

Changes in traditional family patterns are further reinforced by the increasing number of divorces and the consequent increase in single parent households. As the traditional family changes, as more women work and as more families are headed by single parents, the maintenance of personal and family health care becomes increasingly precarious.

The present study explored family health care planning among the families of a small rural community. We were particularly interested in determining whether women, regardless of employment or changed marital status, continued to take sole responsibility for family health care. With these considerations in mind, we investigated the primary person in charge of the family's health care.

Method. The participants in this study consisted of all patients visiting the University of Michigan's Family Practice Center at Chelsea during a one-week period. The questionnaire was completed by 375 patients (133 men, 242 women). The respondents varied in age from the early twenties to the late eighties. Table 1 presents the age and sex distribution of our sample.

Table 1

Summary of Sample by Age and Sex

	Age						
	20's	30's	40's	50's	60's	70's	80's
Sex							
Males	37	23	22	15	21	8	7
Females	85	40	19	31	39	21	7

The University of Michigan's Family Practice Center at Chelsea is situated 15 miles from the University and draws patients from a predominantly rural area. Four full-time and four part-time physicians are associated with the Center. Patients coming to the Center are both working and middle class and tend to be long-time residents of this stable community. The Center itself has become University-affiliated within the last two years, but it has existed for over ten years.

Our questionnaire was designed to explore the self-reported health maintenance and emergency care of the patients and their immediate families. Since this was a totally exploratory and informational study, we were careful to ask only questions which would be perceived as factual, unintrusive and inoffensive. For example, rather than asking our patients about their income--a topic that is frequently a sensitive one--we asked about their educational level. Similarly, instead of inquiring about the marital status of "family" members, we asked about the man and the woman of the house, thus eliminating the sometimes sensitive issues of common-law marriages, step-children, and the like.

Table 2 presents the questions asked, the responses to which we are reporting in the present paper.

Table 2

Questions Asked of Respondents

Who usually makes your clinic appointments?

1. ___you
2. ___your spouse
3. ___your mother
4. ___your father
5. ___your daughter
6. ___your son
7. ___Other: Please specify: ____________________

If you are married, who usually makes your spouse's appointments?

1. ___you
2. ___your spouse
3. ___Other: Please specify: ____________________
4. ___not married

Who makes your child/children's clinic appoinments?

1. ___mother
2. ___father
3. ___the child
4. ___Other: Please specify ____________________
5. ___no children under 18 years of age living at home

If your child feels sick who usually decides whether he or she should be taken to see the doctor?

1. ___mother
2. ___father
3. ___the child
4. ___Other: Please specify ____________________
5. ___no children under 18 years of age living at home

Who makes sure your child/children have the immunizations they need?

1. ___mother
2. ___father
3. ___the child
4. ___the school
5. ___Other: Please specify ____________________
6. ___no children under 18 years of age living at home

If your child had a medical emergency who would know his/her medical history?

1. ___mother
2. ___father
3. ___the child
4. ___Other: Please specify ____________________
5. ___no children under 18 years of age living at home

Is the woman of the house employed outside the home?

1. ___yes
2. ___no

If yes,

1. ___full-time?
2. ___part-time?
3. ___does not apply

Table 2 (continued)

Is the man of the house employed outside the home?

1. ___yes 2. ___no

If yes,

1. __full-time? 2. ___part-time? 3. __does not apply

The questionnaire was distributed by the patient coordinator at the time patients entered the reception area to check in and to complete with the coordinator all preliminary forms. In some cases the questionnaires were completed immediately; in other cases patients took the questionnaires with them to the doctors' section, filled in their replies during various waiting periods, and returned them to the patient coordinator at the end of their visit. This procedure was quite successful and resulted in a very high response rate. In a few cases patients refused to complete the questionnaire; those who refused tended to be either very old and/or perhaps illiterate.

The responses reported in this paper focus on those patients who were married and/or parents. Discrepancies in the number of persons responding to each question can be accounted for by this fact.

Results. A summary of our results is presented in Table 3. Each of these findings will be considered separately, with a summary at the end of the section integrating the overall findings.

Responses to the question about who makes the patient's appointments indicate that this is definitely a sex-linked behavior. In general, 74 percent of our respondents reported that they made their own appointments, with only 26 percent reporting that others made their appointments. Examining these differences by sex, we find that 58 percent of the men and 99 percent of the women report that they made their own appointments, whereas 41 percent of the men and only 1 percent of the women report that their spouses made their appointments. For simplicity we have focused on self/spouse responses and eliminated a minority of responses which mentioned a third party. The number of third party mentions was quite small and thus relatively irrelevant to our major interests.

Spouse Appointment-Making. In an attempt to ascertain spouse appointment-making and also to explore the possibility of sex differences in self-report, we asked our married respondents to tell us who made their spouse's appointments. Thirty-nine percent of the sample said that they made their spouse's appointment, and 42 percent claimed that their spouse made his or her own appointment. Again, a different picture emerges if spouse appointment-making is

Table 3

Summary of Results by Sex

	Males	Females	Combined	N
Makes own appointment				
You	58%	99%	74%	264
Spouse	41%	1%	26%	45
Makes spouse's appointment				
You	5%	75%	39%	110
Spouse	95%	25%	42%	109
Makes child's appointment				
Mother	98%	99%	99%	150
Father	5%	2%	7%	2
Who decides to take child to doctor				
Mother	90%	98%	95%	115
Father	5%	2%	5%	6
Who knows medical history				
Mother	98%	100%	99%	110
Father	2%	0%	1%	1
Who is responsible for child's immunizations				
Mother	100%	98%	99%	102
Father	0%	2%	1%	1

Table 4

Summary of responses in households by woman's employment status

	Women Employed	
	Yes	No
Makes own appointment		
You	85%	83%
Spouse	15%	17%
Makes spouse's appointment		
You	43%	51%
Spouse	57%	49%
Makes child's appointment		
Mother	97%	100%
Father	3%	0%
Who decides to make appointments		
Mother	96%	94%
Father	4%	6%
Who knows medical history		
Mother	98%	100%
Father	2%	0%
Who is responsible for child's immunizations		
Mother	100%	98%
Father	0%	2%

controlled by sex. Of the men, only 5 percent report that they make their spouse's appointment, while 95 percent report that their wives make their own appointments. On the other hand, 75 percent of the women report that they make their spouse's appointment, with only 25 percent indicating that their spouse makes his own. It is interesting to note the discrepancy here in the self-reported behavior of men and women. Although, of course, the men and women responding to our questionnaire were not necessarily married to one another, is noteworthy that women are indicating that they make their spouse's appointments (75 percent do) but men (58 percent) say they make their own appointments. Similarly, comparing women's appointment responses, 99 percent of the women say they make their own appointments but 5 percent of the men say they make their wives' appointments. Even the reporting discrepancies differ by sex!

Children's Appointments. An additional concern of ours focused on the preventive health care of the children. Response tendencies to similar questions about children were overwhelming. Ninety-nine percent of the respondents who had children indicated that the mother made the child's appointment, with only 1 percent responding that the father made such appointments. These responses did not change much when they were examined by sex. Men (98 percent) and women (99 percent) both indicate that the mother usually makes the children's appointments. We asked a similar question about who decides whether the children should see a doctor. Ninety-five percent of the respondents replied that the mother decides and only 5 percent indicate that the father decides. Controlling by sex some differences emerge. Only 90 percent of the men say that the mother of the child decides if the child should see a doctor but 98 percent of the women indicate that the mother decides. Apparently, men and women see this decision-making process somewhat differently.

We were also concerned about the child's medical history and wondered if both the mother and father were adequately informed in case of a medical emergency. Our responses indicate that mothers were considerably more informed than fathers. Overall, 99 percent of respondents report that the mother knows the child's medical history, but only 1 percent name the father. The difference does not change significantly when we review the responses separately by sex. Most men (98 percent) and all women (100 percent) indicate that the mother knows the medical history of the child best.

Finally, we examined reported responsibility for the children's immunizations. The pattern was by now familiar. Ninety-nine percent of the respondents overall, all of the men (100 percent) and almost all the women (98 percent) report that the mother accepts this responsibility.

These findings supported our hypothesis that women were taking primary responsibility for their own health care as well as that of their families. We were now interested in exploring the variability that women's participation in paid employment might introduce into this pattern. We examined the same health care responsibilities focusing on and differentiating families where the woman of the house worked either part- or full-time, from those where she did not.

To anticipate the more specific and detailed findings, it is accurate to say that the overall responses comparing working and non-working women indicate that employment status moderates health care behaviors only slightly. In general women--working and non-working--continue to take primary responsibility for their own health care, as well as that of their spouses and children.

Examining survey responses we find that 83 percent of the women who are not working report that they make their own appointments, and 85 percent of the women working indicate that they make their own appointments. Similarly, in households where women do not work, 51 percent are reported to make their spouse's appointments. Slightly fewer women, 43 percent who work full or part-time, are reported to make their spouse's appointments. Apparently working status serves to decrease only slightly the number of women taking on responsibility for self and spouse health care.

Where children's health care is concerned, a somewhat similar pattern is revealed. In households where the women work, 97 percent of the mothers make their children's appointments, whereas a full 100 percent of the non-working women make their children's appointments. If the child is sick or has some health care problem, it is still overwhelmingly the mother who decides if the child should see a doctor--regardless of her working status. In fact, an interesting though only slight reversal occurs here. In households where the woman of the house works, 96 percent are reported to decide if the child should see a doctor, whereas the comparable figure for non-working mothers is 94 percent. Although this difference is only slight, it may reflect the more crisis-oriented and time-pressing nature of the lifestyle in families where the woman works. It may be that the working mother does not have time to consult with the working father about the child's health care needs, but rather must act on her own opinion. This interpretation is supported by the finding that 98 percent of women who work are reported to know their child's medical history better than the father, but all 100 percent of women who do not work are expected to know their child's medical history better.

Children's Immunizations. Finally, a finding similar to that concerning children's appointments emerges with regard to responsibility for children's immunizations. One hundred percent of the women who work part- or full-time are also indicated as taking primary responsibility for childhood immunizations. In households where women do not work, 98 percent say that they take primary responsibility for the children's immunizations. These differences are probably too small to be significant but again they might be indicative of the critical time pressure working mothers face.

In sum, it is clear that women--regardless of their working status--are still primarily responsible for their own and their family's health care. Given the pattern of daily living these women face, health care behaviors, especially preventive ones which are often seen as optional, may suffer.

Discussion. From these findings, it is clear to us that women overwhelmingly carry the burden of their own and their families' health care. The responsibility of health maintenance continues to be that of the wife and mother, regardless of her employment status. Women who work outside the home are almost as likely as unemployed women to be reported responsible for family health care.

These findings are particularly alarming to the preventive-care-oriented health professional. Although some have argued that lack of first-hand exposure is responsible, the present findings may explain the increasing problem of school children who have not been immunized against preventive disease. Mothers employed both inside and outside the home may not have the energy to do anything but take care of medical emergencies as they arise. Thus normal immunizations are not obtained. In many parts of the country officials have had to enforce aggressively the immunization requirement rules for school children in response to the alarming number of children attending school without these necessary, though preventive measures. Similarly, we have seen an increase in emergency and crisis care. Women employed outside the home are sometimes unable to spot the early signs of a health problem, but rather are confronted after a day's work with a fully developed health problem. In such cases women are forced to utilize emergency care facilities or to tolerate a delay in obtaining care by waiting until the following morning or the next available office appointment.

We feel compelled to add that women experiencing these crisis conditions are not likely to attend to their own health care, and are much less likely to attend to preventive health care. Again, clinic experience indicates that more women are delaying their own health care, both preventive health checkups and crisis intervention during illness.

In summary, women do tend to be their family's health care planners; more women are working both in and outside the home, and as a result family health care, especially preventive health care, seems to be suffering.

Changes needed. The question that occurs to us is, how can we change medical care to keep up with changing times? We would like to propose some steps that will help the working mother especially, and may also help non-working mothers share the primary responsibility for family health care. These suggestions may seem somewhat radical since they basically require that health care professionals and communities-at-large become involved in crisis and preventive health care behaviors. First, we can insure that all children in all states are fully immunized by the time they enter school. This can be facilitated by a reminder sent to the family on the child's appropriate birthday detailing the immunization(s) necessary and the dates they can be obtained at a neighborhood clinic. Similarly, we might devise and implement a plan whereby all adults are regularly notified that a physical checkup is due or appropriate at this time (again this could be timed to coincide with appropriate birthdays). If possible the adults should also be notified of nearby clinics where these checkups could be obtained and either an appointment should be made for them or else the steps needed to obtain an appointment should be outlined. Night clinics may be another way to ease the burden of the working mother who carries the responsibility of health care for her family. Similarly, schools might share this burden by providing children with regular, in-school checkups for both preschool and school age children.

As it becomes increasingly clear that preventive health care and regular physicals contribute significantly to long term health, then health care professionals, communities, and even employers must become more committed to these kinds of measures. If the end result is healthier children and adults, as many steps as possible should be taken to ease the burden of women as family health care planners. With these matters in mind, we are continuing to research and explore these issues with Chelsea Family Practice Center.

References

Antonucci, T., Tamir, L.I., and Dubnoff, S. "Mental health and the family life cycle." In K. Back (Ed.) *Life course: Integrative theories and special populations.* Boulder: Westview Press (in press).

Campbell, A., Converse, P.E., and Rodgers, W.L. *The Quality of American Life: Perceptions, Evaluations and Satisfaction.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1976.

Duvall, E.M. *Marriage and family development,* 5th Edition. New York: Harper and Row, 1977.

Gurin, G., Veroff, J., and Feld, S. *Americans View Their Mental Health.* New York: Basic Books, 1960.

Rones, P.L., and Leon, C.L. "Employment and unemployment during 1978: An analysis." *Monthly Labor Review,* February, 1979.

Seiden, A.M. "Overview: Research on the psychology of women, II: Women in families, work and psychotherapy." *The American Journal of Psychiatry,* 133:10, October 1976, 1111-1123.

Vanek, J. "Time spent in housework." *Scientific American,* 23 (5), 1974, 116-120.

U.S. Department of Labor. *1975 Handbook on Women Workers Bulletin, 297,* 1975, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

Veroff, J., Douvan, E., and Kulka, R. *Americans View Their Mental Health, 1976,* forthcoming.

HEROIN ADDICTION AMONG WOMEN

Mary Ellen Colton

In 1974 the National Institute on Drug Abuse funded several demonstration programs to provide services for heroin-addicted women and to gather information on the utility of special approaches to treatment for female substance abusers. A year later the Women's Drug Research Grant was given a mandate to collect data on the psychosocial characteristics of women addicts.

Sample. The data presented here come from structured intensive interviews with 170 women in mixed sex treatment programs in Los Angeles, Miami, and Detroit, and from interviews with 202 men from similar programs. In addition we interviewed 175 non-addicted women from the inner city of Detroit for comparison purposes.

The average age of the women in our sample was 25 years old. Most women had begun using heroin in their late teens or early 20's and invariably had been introduced to it by men. It is important to note that the women cite as reasons for using drugs emotional and interpersonal coping reasons rather than recreational purposes.

This paper will report some of our findings on self perceptions--especially sense of well-being--and attitudes of women addicts--especially attitudes toward other addicted women--and a little about their experiences in treatment. While this is certainly not a comprehensive portrait of the female addict, the data speak to so many of the old myths about addicted women and give us some very good clues concerning treatment for heroin-addicted women.

Sense of well-being. Some of the questions asked our respondents dealt with self-esteem, with feelings of depression and feelings of anxiety.

Research has indicated repeatedly that heroin addicts have poor self images, that their regard for themselves, their sense of self-worth, is considerably lower than that of non-addicts. It is also generally acknowledged that women have lower self-esteem than men, so that we would expect substance-abusing women to be lower in self-esteem than other groups, both because they are addicted and because they are women. Our data, not surprisingly, confirmed this expectation. The addicted women as a group were significantly lower in self-esteem than the addicted men (t (346) = 4.12, $p < .001$) and lower in self-esteem than the non-addicted comparison sample of women (t (159) - 6.81, p .001). The addicted men too scored lower in self-esteem than the non-addicted women (t (174) = 3.86, $p < .001$).

There has been a tendency to attribute the comparatively low self-esteem of addicted women to particular aspects of their situation--to claim that it is a consequence of prostitution for example. It has also been claimed that a woman must be extremely deviant, much more so than a man, to use heroin. Repeated references are made to the self-hatred of women addicts, to their repressed aggression and to guilt they may have over their children.

Since this is the only study we know of showing lower self-esteem in any group of men compared to any group of women, the finding that male addicts are lower in self-esteem indicates that the condition of addiction is indeed related to self-esteem. It also suggests that the addiction process itself contributes more heavily to low self-esteem than does prostitution or particular aspects of the situation of the female addict.

Although addicted men have lower self-esteem, it still must not be ignored that women addicts display comparatively lower self-esteem. Clearly, the self images of women addicts suffer a double burden from the female role and from substance abuse. For example, treatment programs using confrontation techniques may exacerbate rather than alleviate this problem for women. A woman having little sense of her own self-worth may also feel that she is not worth the effort of treatment.

The drug culture is at least as male-oriented as the dominant culture if not considerably more. Women and the roles relegated to them are of secondary status. Lower self-esteem of the woman addict might best be viewed as an understandable response to the situation in which she finds herself.

Feelings of Depression. The measure of depression in this study has been used in national surveys (e.g., *Americans View Their Mental Health*, 1957; 1976). It has been shown to be highly reliable and valid for use in a variety of populations (Radloff, 1977). It was selected because it is not considered to be a diagnostic tool or a measure of pathology. Any of the symptoms in the scale could be experienced and reported by psychologically healthy individuals, with with more depressed persons tending to report more of the symptoms at any one testing time. It is oriented only toward the present; respondents are asked if they have felt this way in the past week.

Women in general report more depression than men. This fact has been attributed to response biases--the greater willingness of women to admit to depressive symptoms (Cooperstock, 1971; Phillips & Segal, 1969) and to the realities of women's lives--that is, given their lot in life, they ought to be more depressed.

The addicted women in this study are in fact considerably more depressed than both addicted men (t (345) - 4.05, $p < .001$), and non-addicted women, (t (159) = 4.74, $p < .001$). Addicted men and non-addicted women also differ significantly in reported mean levels of depression, with the addicted men reporting greater depression than non-addicted women, (t (173) - 2.20, $p < .05$).

As with the self esteem results, we must conclude that addiction itself results in reports of more or greater depressive symptoms. If this were not the case, we would expect the addicted males to show less, rather than more, depression than the control group women.

That addicted women are overwhelmingly more depressed than the other groups is a finding not to be taken lightly, particularly since the individuals comprising the other two groups in our sample have serious life problems: the men are substance abusers just entering treatment, and the comparison women are all unemployed and actively looking for work. Response biases may be involved in this result but it would be unrealistic to believe that women addicts are simply more willing to complain. Again, we must look to their life circumstances.

The data on their social relationships and on the life problems indicate that they have more about which to complain. This finding may also be linked to the data on self-esteem and the causes of both findings may be somewhat similar, if not identical. The addicted women in this sample have all recently entered mixed-sex treatment programs. Critiques of traditional treatment programs indicate that staff are less likely to expect women to complete treatment successfully and may in fact implicitly communicate this to the women. The women may be at a low point when they enter and confrontation and forced self-examination in conjunction with weakened defenses may leave women feeling discouraged and hopeless. They may have been forced to relinquish their children, and have relatively fewer social supports (Tucker, 1977). It has also been suggested that women addicts are treated like "whores" whether or not they have ever prostituted to earn money to support their habits (Schultz, 1974). They are also less likely to be employed (or to have hopes of employment) than male addicts. As we shall see later, they are well aware of the negative societal response to women substance-abusers and over half of the addicted women agree that "women addicts are worse than men addicts." So a good number of these women may have internalized this negative appraisal of their lower self-esteem and greater depression may reflect awareness and/or acceptance of these attitudes. Their situations are in fact dreary and depressing, and and if they did not appear more depressed than male addicts we might wonder what was wrong with them. Less depression could constitute an unnatural response to a difficult situation.

In one study (Fisch, et al., 1973) it was found that more highly depressed clients in a methadone program tended to show greater improvement than low depression clients; in fact, the low depression clients tended to get worse in conjunction with therapy. On the other hand, highly depressed clients tended to be more likely to drop out from treatment. This suggests that the greater depression of the female addicts may make them good candidates for successful therapeutic intervention, provided that the program makes intensive efforts to engage them and to keep them in the program during the initial phases of treatment. So their heightened depression may be a hopeful sign if it is dealt with appropriately.

Feelings of Anxiety. Women addicts are more anxious than men addicts ($t(346) = 4.45$, $p < .001$) and more anxious than non-addicted women, ($t(159) = 3.46$, $p < .001$). Addicted men also report greater anxiety than non-addicted women ($t(174) = 1.99$, $p < .05$).

As with the depression results, it appears that the process of addiction and/or entering treatment affects reports of anxiety, since both male and female addicts report significantly more anxiety than the control group. The addicted women again are reporting more symptoms or more intense symptoms than the addicted men.

Their greater anxiety may be due not only to the greater discomfort they are feeling, but to their fears that they will be unsuccessful in the program. Their lower self-esteem and lower sense of control over their lives supports this notion. Additionally, we do not know what treatment programs do (or do not do) to make women feel that they can be successful. It is possible that the initial phases of treatment in most programs have not been designed to alleviate the fears and anxieties of women clients.

Very high levels of anxiety have been shown to cause decrements in performance (Sarason et al., 1960; Sarason, 1961). We suspect that addicted women may get trapped in the proverbial vicious cycle, with heightened anxiety leading to poorer performance and lower self-esteem, which again lead to greater anxiety.

Attitudes Toward Addicted Women. Part of the negative feelings women addicts have may be better understood in light of some of our findings on the attitudes that male and female addicts have toward addicted women.

We asked our respondents how much they agreed with the following statements:

1. Women addicts are worse than men addicts.
2. Men look down on women addicts more than they do on men addicts.
3. Women look down on women addicts more than they do on men

addicts.

While addicted women are significantly less likely than addicted men to agree that "Women addicts are worse than men addicts," (X^2 (3) = 19.7, $p < .001$), more than half of the women (55.5 percent) and more than two thirds of the men (67.8 percent) agree. (This finding does not mean that those who disagree necessarily think men are worse; they may see them as equally bad.)

Although there are no significant differences between the responses of men and women to the item "Men look down on women addicts more than they do on men addicts," 89.8 percent of the women and 88.6 percent of the men agreed with this statement. So while a slight majority of the addicted men and women actually feel that women addicts are worse, a sizable majority feel that men look down on women addicts more.

Finally, the vast majority of addicted women (69.2 percent) and addicted men (72.8 percent) agree with the statement: "Women look down on women addicts more than they do on men addicts." Although both figures are high, women are significantly more likely to agree (X^2 (3)=13.23, $p < .01$) and more likely to disagree strongly (15.1 percent of women vs. 6.9 percent of men).

Many writers in the field have referred to the self-hatred of women addicts. These results indicate that, although more women than men addicts say addicted women are worse, what may have been called "self-hatred" is simply a recognition of the fact that others, particularly men, disapprove more strongly of addiction in women.

There is, in reality, no reason why female addicts should be condemned more than male addicts; after all they share the same problem of addiction. The data show that this is not paranoia on the part of these women--the men also acknowledge the situation.

The isolation of addicted women (Tucker, 1977), their low self-esteem and their high depression may all be linked to these reports of attitudes toward women addicts. Both men and women say that women addicts are viewed with disfavor--rejects among a community of rejects, censured apparently because they are women.

Other pieces of our data also provide important indications about the special needs and problems of addicted women.

Problems Reported. Addicted women tend to report having had more problems in the past month than other groups. They express more concerns about their own health, more trouble with other people, more worries about child rearing and the health of their children, and more difficulties with family. Over 75 percent of the addicted women said that they had had worries about their health in the last month and almost one-half of the addicted women who were mothers had experienced worries about the health of their children. Thirty percent of the women who had health concerns of their own were able to use their treatment centers as resources, but less than 10 percent were able to use the treatment center for help in handling their concerns about the health of their children.

Not surprisingly, addicted men express many fewer health worries, both for themselves and their children. They are, of course, much less likely to have responsibility for children.

Others have noted that many of the physical problems experienced by addicted women are gynecological ones. A special problem arising from the use of heroin is that, because it is an opiate, it tends to obscure pain; thus addicted women may not experience the warning signals that something is seriously wrong. In general, treatment programs have not given attention to the problems of the women and are poorly equipped to handle the special health problems of women.

Addicted Woman as Mothers. Seventy percent of the addicted women are mothers, so that the vast majority of them have the responsibility of child care. Programs in the past have not been geared toward helping women handle these responsibilities, nor have they provided day-care programs or even treatment schedules which would help women meet the needs of their children while obtaining help for themselves. Moreover, women who expose themselves as addicts by entering treatment run the risk of losing their children, since many people assume that the mere fact of addiction makes one an unfit mother. Thus women who have children may be deterred from seeking out treatment.

In recent years a great deal of attention has in fact been paid to the children of addicted women. However, attention has been focused primarily upon the effects of heroin use on fetuses and neonates. Our study revealed that over a third of the women had never tried heroin before they had children; we have concluded that, while exposure to heroin *in utero* is a problem, it is only one of the many confronted by these mothers and their children.

A theme running through the data collected from addicted mothers is their feelings that they cannot be good mothers. Even addicted women who raise their children in ways similar to non-addicted women tend to feel inadequate compared to other mothers. Treatment programs appear to function on the premise that addicted women cannot be good mothers even though they very much want to be, so we are faced again with what may be a self-fulfilling prophecy. If addicted mothers are treated as if they are inept, guilty, and irresponsible, then they will tend to feel and perhaps to behave that way.

Summary. Attitudes towards female addicts and particularly addicted women who are mothers seem to be strikingly negative and are reflected in the addicts' own perceptions of themselves--in low self-esteem, in heightened anxiety, in depression and sense of inadequacy as a parent. Treatment programs which do not directly confront these problems are reinforcing patterns which may well interfere with the goals of treatment.

Finally, there is a bright side to this picture: we did find that addicted women have many social skills, that they evidence a willingness to become involved with other people; they appear to be no more manipulative or mistrustful than comparison women. In other words, they do enter treatment with some positive and solid characteristics on which to build.

These data remind us that addicted women are not exactly like other women--and, more importantly, they are not exactly like addicted men. Their special problems and their perceptions of themselves must be considered and treated as unique.

References

Cooperstock, R. "Sex differences in the use of mood-modifying drugs: An explanatory model." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior,* 12(1971): 234-244.

Fisch, A., Patch, V. D., Greenfield, A., Raynes, A., McKenna, G., & Levine, M. "Depression and self concept as variables in the differential response to methadone maintenance combined with therapy." Paper presented at Methadone Conference, Washington, D.C., 1973.

Gurin, G., Veroff, J., & Feld, S. *Americans View Their Mental Health.* New York: Basic Books, 1960.

Phillips, D., & Segal, B. "Sexual status and psychiatric symptoms." *American Sociological Review,* 34(1969): 58-72.

Radloff, L. S. "The CES-D Scale: A self-report depression scale for research in the general population." *Journal of Applied Psychological Measurement,* 1(1977).

Rosenberg, M. *Society and the Adolescent Self-image.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965.

Sarason, I. G. "Test anxiety and the intellectual performance of college students." *Journal of Educational Psychology,* 52 (1961): 201-206.

Sarason, S. B., et. al. *Anxiety in Elementary School Children.* New York: Wiley, 1960.

Schultz, A. "Radical feminism: A treatment modality for addicted women." In E. Senay, V. T. Shorty, & H. Alksne (Eds.), *Developments in the Field of Drug Abuse.* Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman, 1975.

Tucker, M. B. "A descriptive and comparative analysis of the social support structure of heroin-addicted women." *Women's Drug Research Project Report to the National Institute on Drug Abuse*, 1977.

Veroff, J., Douvan, E., & Kulka, R. A. *Americans View Their Mental Health*: 1957-1976. In press.

VIII.

PATTERNS AND PROBLEMS OF WOMEN'S EDUCATION

ASSESSING THE ATMOSPHERE:

EDUCATION AND CAREER SUCCESS IN ACADEMIC WOMEN

Barbara L. Forisha

Little has changed since 1938 when Virginia Woolf brilliantly outlined the differences in educational and career development of women and men. These differences she ascribes to the influence of "atmosphere," that subtle and intangible aroma that identifies the female in a male-dominated world. More recently, in theory and research, academicians have documented the impact of subtle discrimination against women--both in education and in the professions--and have shown that sex, rather than competence or productivity, is often the telling factor in educational and career success. Drawing upon Woolf's early analysis, this paper reviews the recent research on educational and career development and examines the connections between the two in women and in men. Finally, certain relationships which appear predictive of career success are discussed in terms of the lives of eleven academic women at a small university, and areas for future research are suggested.

In *Three Guineas* Virginia Woolf argues that, despite the appearance of sameness in the university education of women and men, a subtle difference leads to the perpetuation of two sex-differentiated realities. Because of differences in "memory and tradition," she states, "'we' still differ in some essential respects from 'you'... Though we see the same world, we see it through different eyes."

Following upon differences in education, Woolf continues, women and men find themselves differentially selected into the professions. Though women may do as well as men on entrance examinations, they find themselves less often admitted into the professional ranks. Woolf describes the possible reaction to women desiring to enter the Civil Service:

> Thus it is quite possible that the name "Miss" transmits through the board or division some vibration which is not registered in the examination room. "Miss" transmits sex; and sex may carry with it an aroma. "Miss" may carry with it the swish of petticoats, the savour of scent or other odour perceptible to the nose on the further side of the partition and obnoxious to it. What charms and consoles in the private house may distract and exacerbate in the public office (1966, p. 50).

This "odour," this "aroma," Woolf refers to as "atmosphere," and it affects the rates of pay and promotion as well as selection. In fact, atmosphere is most powerful and is indeed the deadliest of the enemies of educated women (1966, p. 52).

Supposing that women were able to penetrate the atmosphere and ensconce themselves in the professions, as some indeed have done, would they want to do this? Woolf points out that the professions appear to have a detrimental effect on the professors and that in the course of fulfilling their professional duties they appear to lose their humanity. She states that the professions "make the people who practice them possessive, jealous of any infringement of their rights, and highly combative if anyone dares dispute them" (1966, p. 66). This portrait of professors does not suggest a model which many would choose to follow.

Yet Woolf urges women to enter the professions because only in so doing will they earn a living and have any tangible influence or power. They must not, however, enter the professions exactly as have men, for they will then follow the male example of wielding power for inhumane causes. Women can guard against this by retaining their feminine socialization while they acquire power. It is possible, Woolf argues, for professional women to remain civilized human beings. She writes:

> ...the lesson is if you refuse to be separated from the four great teachers of the daughters of educated men--poverty, chastity, derision and freedom from unreal loyalties--but combine them with some wealth, some knowledge, and some service to real loyalties then you can enter the professions and escape the risks that make them undesirable (1966, p. 79-80).

If women are able to do as Woolf suggests, they become "outsiders on the inside" (see Forisha & Goldman, in press), neither co-opted by the establishment nor excluded from the realms of influence.

To what degree has Woolf delineated our current situation? What are the possibilities open to educated women, academic women in particular? To what extent does the educational and career experience of professional women and men differ from each other? To what extent do education and career success bear different relationships to each other in the lives of women and men? Finally, who are the women who have penetrated the "atmosphere" described by Woolf, and how have they managed to do so? We turn now to recent evidence on the status of women in education and the professions.

Educational Background of Women. In reviewing the educational background of academic faculty, research suggests that outwardly the experience of women and men is not that different. For example in a 1969 survey 29 percent of women Ph.D.'s received their doctorate from a top academic institution. In another survey of psychologists in 1972 27 percent of both women and men received their training at one of the top ten universities (Astin, 1973). In general, then, there is little difference between women and men in the proportions of each sex who receive high level training. Astin (1973) suggests that the graduate school role is well-suited to the reputed passivity of women and further that the admiration and followership of women students is well-suited to the self-esteem needs of male professors. Thus, though women may do well in graduate school, it does not necessarily portend well for their future success.

There is other evidence, however, that the experiences of women and men in graduate school are not the same. Harris (1970) has collected a number of comments made by university officials which indicate that women within a graduate department are not taken seriously as potential colleagues. Her comments include the following:

> A pretty girl like you will certainly get married; why don't you stop with an M.A.?
>
> You're so cute. I can't see you as a professor of anything.
>
> We expect women who come here to be competent, good students, but we don't expect them to be brilliant or original. (Harris, 1970, p. 285).

These remarks were responded to by a group of University of Chicago graduate women, who explained the detrimental impact of such an attitude:

> Comments such as these can hardly be taken as encouragement for women students to develop an image of themselves as scholars. They indicate that some of our professors have different expectations about our performance than about the performance of male graduate students--expectations

> based not on our ability as individuals but on the fact that we are women. Comments like these indicate that we are expected to be decorative objects in the classroom, that we're not likely to finish a Ph.D. and if we do, there must be something "wrong" with us. Single women will get married and drop out. Married women will have children and drop out. And a woman with children ought to stay at home and take care of them rather than study and teach (Harris, 1970, p. 285).

Roby (1973), in reviewing this material, comments on the "atmosphere of disparagement" which surrounds women in institutions of higher education. Though women may be admitted to graduate programs along with men, they experience this world in a very different fashion.

This conclusion is supported by the accounts of other academic women who write of their experience as different--and generally more difficult--than that of their male peers (e.g. Keller, 1977; Weisstein, 1977). Another study substantiates this view. In a survey of women professionals, 28 percent of doctors, lawyers, architects and psychologists reported that their graduate work had been devalued by their professors because of their sex (Standley & Soule, 1974). Whether or not women report discrimination per se, it is clear that the atmosphere surrounding women in graduate school is not conducive to providing an educational experience similar to that of their male peers.

Women and the Academic Professions. Though the evidence is sometimes ambivalent about educational discrimination, there is no ambivalence in the findings that show that the selection process for entrance into the academic professions is biased against women (Etaugh & Kasley, 1978; Standley & Soule, 1974). A study by Fidell (1970), for example, showed that given identical applications from male and female psychologists, college administrators more often hired the male, and hired him at a higher rank than his female counterpart.

Once within the system, moreover, it is clear that women are differentially rewarded for their work (Astin & Bayer, 1973; Kimmel, 1974; Ferber & Loeb, 1973). As Astin and Bayer comment, "The academic reward system is biased toward behaviors and activities exhibited more often by men than women" (1973, p. 333). Even when male and female professors are matched in terms of institution, rank and seniority, the women's behavior is less rewarded (1973, p. 346). Several studies document the inequitable rewards of the academic structure. The two variables on which women and men most vary are rank and salary.

In regard to rank one finds more men at high positions than women. For example, in a large academic sample, 25 percent of the men and 9 percent of the women were full professors. In a regression analysis, partialling out other variables, it appeared that this could be attributed partly to sex: "...sex is a better predictor of rank than such factors as number of years since completion of education, number of years employed at present institution, or number of books published" (Astin & Bayer, 1973, p. 339). Although promotion is predicted for both sexes by completion of the doctorate, the number of years spent in academe, productivity in terms of articles and books, time in administration, and the number of years at the current institution (Astin & Bayer, 1973, p. 342), promotion for men is also predicted by the institution at which they earned their doctorate. This does not appear to be the case for women (Astin & Bayer, 1973, p. 347-348.).

As Berelson states about male academics, "...so his eventual position in higher education depends on the standing of the institution where he took his doctorate as well as on his scientific or scholarly abilities" (Bernard, 1964, p. 87). Women, on the other hand, tend to get their doctorates at schools which are as good as those attended by men but wind up in lower positions (Bernard, 1964, p. 88). Astin and Bayer summarize the different predictors of academic promotion for women and men:

> Thus a profile predictive of rank advancement for men includes a doctorate from a prestigious university, appointments of long duration in a private nonsectarian institution, participation in administration, and both private (children) and public (publications) productivity. In contrast, women advance up the ranks best if they attain doctorates, teach at small- to moderate-sized public institutions for some period of time, produce scholarly works, and have minimal demands on their time and energy (that is, have fewer children or remain single) (1973, p. 348).

Salary is another indicator of academic success. Once again, as with promotion, sex is important in determining salary. Men generally earn more than women, and do so even if all other factors are held equal. Astin and Bayer again summarize the evidence: "sex was a better predictor of salary than such factors as number of years of professional employment or whether one hold a doctorate." For men the institution at which they earned their doctorate and the number of publications they have are of primary importance. For women, once again, this is not so (1973, p. 343).

It is clear from the above that quality of educational background is vital in the career paths of men, but not of women. In Virginia Woolf's terms, atmosphere intervenes. The number of publications, particularly for men, also influences academic success. Are women more or less productive than men? What relationship does their productivity bear on either their doctoral institution or their current academic success, as measured by rank and salary?

Productivity of Women Scholars. In general, women are not as productive as men (Astin, 1973; Bernard, 1964), although one study found that married women publish more than either single women or men (Harmon, 1968). The lower rate of productivity is documented by one study in which the percentage of women-written articles in top sociology journals is considerably lower than the percentage of women sociology doctorates (Fava, 1960). Yet another study which controlled for numerous variables found that when institution, rank and other factors were contolled, there were no significant sex differences in productivity (Bernard, 1964, p. 152-154). However, women produced less than men and Bernard attributes this to the fact that women are in less productive positions (1964, p. 154).

Those academicians who produce more than others are generally part of a high-level university setting which provides the resources and a collaborative scientific network that supports productivity. Bernard states:

> ...it was true that the scientists who were more productive were also those in the most favored positions to know what was going on in their field, in closest contact with people and laboratories doing the most important work, in closest and most frequent contact with leaders in the field, and most likely therefore to get the unexpected, unanticipated, even accidental information which...is so essential in this day and age (1964, p. 158).

The people in these positions are usually men and their productivity can be largely attributed to the advantages of their setting. Epstein also points out that much of scientific knowledge is communicated by word-of-mouth and that women generally are not part of the network in which such information is heard first (1970, p. 174).

Why are women less likely to be in academic settings which promote such information exchange? In part this is due to discrimination in the selection process noted above. Women tend to be hired into the academic world at lower positions than their male peers. They are also more often found in colleges than in universities and suffer the detriments of not having access to research facilities and support (Bernard, 1964). In part, however, this difference may be due to the greater involvement by women in teaching (Astin & Bayer, 1971; Bernard, 1964; Rossi, 1970), and the fact that they teach undergraduates more often than graduate students (Bernard, 1964). The fact that women teach more than men may be due to institutional discrimination (research is more highly valued), but may also, Bernard suggests, be due to a greater affinity for teaching as a result of their feminine socialization.

Bernard spends some time on this point. She finds, for example, that women often think of themselves as "teachers" as opposed to "professors" and thus emphasize the transmission of conventional knowledge rather than the creation of new knowledge (1964, p. 115-125). In this capacity, women are regarded as competent though they are often not regarded as being as authoritative as are men (Bernard, 1964, p. 130). Other evidence shows, however, that women are sometimes evaluated more highly than men and sometimes less so--in any case, they are evaluated differently (Mackie, 1974; Wikler, 1976). Regardless, the emphasis on teaching interferes with research productivity.

There may be other reasons for women's lower productivity. Bernard suggests that women are not often aggressive enough to be creatively productive, for in the act of creativity one must necessarily challenge the status quo. She states that women are neither bold nor innovative (1964, p. 165) and that they "are conspicuously underrepresented in the rosters of innovating scientists" (1964, p. 166). In addition, women appear not to be as motivated by competitive rewards as are men, tend to value their relationships more than their careers, and do not envision themselves as upwardly mobile. They tend to see men's urge toward competitive productivity in a negative light. Bernard states, "The enormous preoccupation with status and prestige among academic men...seems almost obsessive to many academic women" (1964, p. 183). Women may, therefore, respond with different behaviors and to different motivations in choosing when and how much to produce.

One other factor, however, also may influence the lower productivity rate of women. In creative research, not only does one have to challenge the present store of scientific knowledge, but one has to "sell" one's new ideas to the scholarly public. (Bernard, 1964, p. 176). Women may, for similar reasons as noted above, be reluctant to argue publicly for their ideas, but it is also unlikely that they will be heard as often or as clearly as men. Women themselves, and hence their style, are unfamiliar to the academic world and in most disciplines do not fit the image of their profession (Bernard, 1964, p. 176). As a consequence they are often not heard by their peers and this is even more evident when they wish to present a new idea which threatens current ways of thought. Mead says, "New ideas cast in the new style will be twice suspect, once because they are new and once because the style is unfamiliar" (Bernard, 1964, p. 176). Thus, attitudes common to women may join with stereotyped perceptions of them and lead to a situation in which women less often do creative research.

In summary, women are less productive than their male counterparts, are promoted less readily and are paid less for their efforts. In large part these results ensue from the interaction of a feminine perspective with a male-created system. Even if the woman herself does not demonstrate the lowered aggression and competitiveness associated with her sex, she is still regarded by her male colleagues as the other, as alien, as outside the circle. As Epstein comments, the status of woman is dominant and salient and in the perception of others limits the roles that she may play (1970, p. 92). The resulting picture of the academic woman as painted by Bernard is rather dismal:

> Pieced together from a wide variety of sources, the model picture of the academic woman that emerges is of a very bright person so far as test-intelligence is concerned, but compliant rather than aggressive, from an above-average social class background, and with a major interest in the humanities (1964, p. 83).

Further, her status in the work force is not equal to her intelligence. Epstein says, "But no matter what sphere of work women are hired for or select, like sediment in a wine bottle they seem to settle to the bottom" (1970, p. 2).

What Factors Contribute to Women's Success? Yet some women do succeed. If school of training, productivity, and length of service do not account for success as clearly as in the case of men, what then leads to success? A number of varied approaches have been utilized in seeking to answer this question. We know that women who are single tend to have career paths more like men than like women who are married, and that female full professors are more often single than married (Astin, 1973). Yet women who are married publish more than other women and sometimes more than men (Harmon, 1968; Simon, Clark & Galway, 1967). In addition, women who are married to academic men publish more than women married to nonacademic men (Astin, 1973). Particularly for married women, however, Astin credits staying in the work force to a high level of energy and a strong sense of independence (1973, p. 157). Elsewhere, Safilios-Rothschild points out that success is fostered by women's ability to fight the "cold war" which is the lot of the outsider. Finally, Epstein sees success (or at least survival) as a result of either an obstacle-free environment or of personal strength:

> The chances are that those women who enter professional life and remain in it are from environments that have minimized obstacles, or are women who have the good fortune to possess personalities that refuse to recognize the obstacles as more than the rough spots of any normal life. All other things being equal, fewer women than men are graduates of the school of hard knocks (1970, p. 197).

In other areas outside academe we do have some evidence on successful women, showing that they differ from their less successful female peers in having a higher need for achievement and power (Morrison & Sebald, 1974); being more interested in recognition, authority and responsibility (Wood & Greenfield, 1978); and having stronger self-concepts and higher cognitive differentiation (Lawlis & Crawford, 1975). Further, successful women often differ from successful men in being more people-oriented and more concerned with interpersonal values than their male counterparts

(Bartol & Butterfield, 1976; Helmich & Erzen, 1975; Schuler, 1975).

In short, personality traits may bear more relationship to career success for women than do ability, education, or tangible output. This is suggestive of findings in another study (Forisha, 1978) in which creative production for women bore more relationship to personality traits than to measurable creative ability; this was not true for men. All these findings suggest that the success of academic women is related more to their strength and their courage than to their educational background. "Atmosphere," as defined by Virginia Woolf, is penetrated more surely by those with courage than by those with credentials alone.

Survey of Women Faculty. In order to investigate further the factors which lead to career success in academic women, a short questionnaire adapted from Astin's survey of women doctorates (1969) was administered to eleven of my female colleagues on the University of Michigan--Dearborn campus. In a number of ways this is a unique group and may be suggestive of the outlines of the new academic woman. All these women have received their Ph.D.'s since 1969 and all of them are full-time faculty in the liberal arts. Further, from 1977 to 1978 these women met to discuss professional problems on a bi-weekly basis, to provide seminars for women in the southeast Michigan region, and to develop a network of professional women. They differ from their remaining female colleagues most noticeably in their willingness to be woman-identified.

An analysis of the questionnaires revealed that these women fell into three clusters according to age and marital status: single women (under 40); married or once-married women (40 and under); and married or once-married women (over 40). All of these women have a Ph.D. and have been employed in the academic world for 2 to 10 years. In light of the small percentage of women who maintain ranking academic appointments at the university level, all of these women may be considered successful, though there are varying degrees of success among them. The questionnaires were then surveyed to seek out common factors which might account for their success.

As in the analysis above, the importance of educational background (aside from attaining the doctorate) is not particularly salient. All of the women earned their degrees at reputable schools, though only two are commonly listed among the top-ranked in the country. The fact that, in contrast to the location of the bachelor institution, most of the doctoral institutions were in-state, is testimony to the somewhat lower mobility of academic women in contrast to their male colleagues. In discussing their doctoral training, there was no particular emphasis placed on the importance of specific particulars of this training--nor any indication that particular educational factors led to current status. Most of the women did mention, however, that they had male mentors who were instrumental in their graduate education.

In looking at the family background factors of these women, however, there are striking commonalities among the women in each of the three subgroups. All of the younger women came from homes in which at least the father had a professional degree. Most of these women, in particular all the married women, mentioned that their fathers pushed and encouraged them, set goals for them, and sometimes involved them in the fathers' activities. Many of these women also mentioned the importance of the mother's encouragement, whether or not she worked. In contrast, all of the older women came from homes in which the parents had immigrated from Eastern Europe and none of them had completed high school. The parents of these women worked at non-professional jobs and encouraged their children, at least these women, to make the most of their education.

The professional backgrounds of the younger women fit Bernard's (1964) analysis of the academic woman, but also illustrate the importance for professional women of modeling male achievement which is stressed by Heilbrun (1979). All of the younger women, with one exception, are also first-borns, so most likely to receive the full impact of the father's career hope and wishes. It would appear that, unless other unusal factors are present, a professional model in one's family is important for female achievement. In most cases that model is male.

In contrast the older women illustrate another pattern described by Heilbrun (1979), who found that a majority of her tenured female colleagues at Columbia University had been born outside the country. She found that these women had an "outsider's" consciousness which went beyond "being a woman" and were thus less bound by many of the feminine prescriptions of American culture. It would appear from the small sample analyzed here that such "outsider" consciousness may exist in first-generation Americans as well. As one of the women said, the injunction to become an American, with all that means in terms of achievement, was more important than the injunction to be feminine.

The preponderance of married or once-married women in this sample is also somewhat remarkbable in terms of past descriptions of academic women. Moreover, all of these women have children. It is also clear that the most productive women are the younger, married (or once-married) subgroup: the three tenured women are in this category, and the productivity is noticeably higher with these women having an average of twelve papers published as compared with four and six for the other two groups. If success is to be defined in terms of rank and productivity (salary information is not available currently), then these women are the most successful in the small sample.

This evidence suggests that a new pattern may be emerging. Although married women often publish more than single women, that is true only of the younger married group and not of the older one.

However, previous research has suggested that single women are promoted faster than married women, and this finding is contraverted in the current sample. If we may speculate in view of the small sample size, it could be that the new academic woman is not single, but married or divored with children, and that the necessity of utilizing all one's time leads to higher productivity--and success--than the freedom from such pressing time constraints as in the single woman or the older woman who has followed a sequential pattern of career development. As one colleague commented, she had to learn early "to work like hell" and developed patterns of time management which have been with her ever since. None of the passivity noted by Bernard is evident in the responses of these women, who show in contrast and the high energy, the independence and the ability to manage several roles noted by Astin.

In addition, there appears to be very little difference in productivity or general orientation between the currently married and the once-married in this sample. Both sets of women in contrast to the single women, note as their major life satisfaction the importance of relationships in their lives, whether with spouses or with significant others, with students, colleagues, or children. These women are all strong in valuing interpersonal relationships and appear to have retained much of the feminine emphasis on relationships. Particularly in the younger married or once-married sample, one sees a combination of modeling male achievement and yet retaining feminine interpersonal values.

The lack of difference between the behavior and orientation of the married and once-married may indicate a shift in cultural norms which tend to be more accepting of divorce than previously--and also more accepting of relationships outside the legal bounds of marriage. The result may be that women who have felt constrained by marriage, particularly in career terms, are more quickly abandoning their marriages than their careers, but still retaining a high emphasis on interpersonal intimate relationships. Epstein (1970) points out that professional women cannot afford bad marriages--the drain on time and energy is too great--and so professional women may have good marriages or none at all. The high rate of divorce in this sample (only 3 of the once-married are currently married) appears, therefore, to reflect a high value on good interpersonal relationships as opposed to a negation of relationships altogether. Once again, in successful career women, one sees a new emphasis on combining male-oriented work values (the importance of career) and female-oriented love values (the importance of relationship).

In other parts of the questionnaire, all of these women (with one exception) report the impact of sex discrmination in their career lives, yet (with two exceptions) they do not demonstrate any bitterness about it. Most of the women do, however, find various facets of academic life which they dislike (one junior faculty person says she "feels like a throttled racehorse") and suffer some dissatisfactions with their career. They also mention, almost unanimously among married women, the frustrations of too little time and energy. Yet, in light of their continued productivity, these dissatisfactions may be more demonstrative of the "divine discontent" which motivates career success than the deep-seated dissatisfaction which hampers productivity.

Pattern of Successful Women. In summary, these successful women recognize the difficulties caused by their sex and by their multiple roles, yet continue to demonostrate an over-all satisfaction with their careers and with their personal lives. In particular, the most successful appear to be "doing it all," combining personal relationships, children, and careers, and balancing the demands of all three. These women demonstrate the integration of masculine and feminine values which is commonly termed androgynous (see Forisha, 1978b). They are able to both love and work and thus fit the psychologists' definition of full functioning which has been prevalent since the time of Freud. At the root of their success, however, lies the courage to seek a new pattern of being, to create new norms, and to chart new territory, and thus penetrate the atmosphere which is the "deadliest of enemies of the daughters of educated men."

These women are suggestive of a more active, powerful model of the academic women than that sketched by Bernard in 1964. Marriage and other relationships are being combined with an emphasis on work. This is a new pattern for women in our culture and as a consequence these women experience both the stress of "overload" and the anxieties associated with "normlessness" which are the lot of most trailblazers. Yet they are equal to the task. Their multiple roles may produce the stress of overdemanding schedules, yet may also force them to better time management and higher productivity than those who, as one colleague commented, have "more time to stand and stare." These women have chosen lifestyles which allow them little leisure and demand that they utilize all the energy at their disposal--and the result is that they are utilizing their energies in ways that many individuals do not. This combination of roles, this dual emphasis on career and relationships, may, at the moment, be a path which only a few are capable of following; yet their efforts may mark the course for many others to come after. The patterns created by such women may provide models for other women and may change the atmosphere of organizations by changing the perception of career women in the eyes of others.

Still this conclusion is based more upon hope than upon research findings. The present sample is too small to do more than suggest directions for future research. Further, the sample is confined to one institution and thus may be more typical of women in small, public, liberal arts universities than in other areas of the academic world. Future research needs to document and enlarge the picture sketched here by assessing the backgrounds, the frustrations and satisfactions, of women of all ages, at varied institutions. Such research may find, however, that we have come a long way from a decade ago and that the new academic woman is fully committed in both the arenas of work and of love, and is a more powerful force than the compliant woman described by researchers in earlier years.

References

Astin, H. *The Woman Doctorate in America.* New York: Russell Sage, 1969.

Astin, H. "Career Profiles of Women Doctorates." In A.S. Rossi and A. Calderwood (Eds.), *Academic Women on the Move.* New York: Russell Sage, 1973.

Astin, H. and Bayer, A. "Sex Discrimination in Academe." In A.S. Rossi and A. Calderwood (Eds.), *Academic Women on the Move.* New York: Russell Sage, 1969.

Bartol, K. and Butterfield. "Sex Effects in Evaluating Leaders." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 61(1976): 446-454.

Bernard, J. *Academic Women.* Cleveland: World Publishing, 1964.

Epstein, C.F. *Woman's Place: Options and Limits in Professional Careers.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970.

Etaugh, C. and Kasley, H.C. "Evaluating Competence: Effects of Sex, Marital Status, and Parental Status." Paper presented at the annual convention of the American Psychological Association, Toronot, Ontario, August, 1978.

Fava, S.F. "The Status of Women in Professional Sociology." *American Sociological Review* 25(1960): 271-272.

Ferber, M. and Loeb, J. "Performance, Rewards, and Perceptions of Sex Discrimination Among Male and Female Facutly." *American Jounral of Sociology* 78(1973): 995.

Fidell, L.S. "Empirical Verification of Sex Discrimination in Hiring Practices in Psychology." *American Psychologist* 25 (1970): 1074-1098.

Forisha, B. "Mental Imagery and Creativity in Men and Women." *Perceptual and Motor Skills* (1978a).

*Forisha, B. *Sex Roles and Personal Awareness.* Morristown, N.J.: General Learning Press, 1978b.

* Forisha, B. and Goldman, B. *Outsiders on the Inside: Women and Organizations.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, fothcoming.

Harmon, L. *Careers of Ph.D.'s Academic vs. Nonacademic: A Second Report on Follow-ups of Doctorate Cohorts, 1935-1960.* Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, 1968.

Harris, A. "The Second Sex in Academe." *AAUP Bulletin* 56 (1970): 283-295.

Heilbrun, C. *Reinventing Womanhood.* New York: W.W. Norton, 1979.

Helmich and Erzen. "Leadership Style and Leader Needs." *Academy of Management Journal* 18(1975): 397-402.

Keller, E. "The Anomaly of a Woman in Physics." In S. Ruddick and P. Daniels (Eds.), *Working it Out.* New York: Pantheon, 1977.

Kimmel, E. "Women as Job Changers." *American Psychologist* 29 (1974): 536.

Lawlis, G.F. and Crawford, J.D. "Cognitive Differentiation in Women and Pioneer-traditional Vocational Choices." *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 6(1976): 337-348.

Mackie, M. "Students' Perceptions of Female Professors." *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 8(1976): 337-348.

Morrison, R.F. and Sebald, M.L. "Personal Characteristics Differentiating Female Executive From Female Non-executive Personnel." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 59(1974): 656-659.

Roby, P. "Institutional Barriers to Women Students in Higher Education." In A.S. Rossi and A. Calderwood (Eds.), *Academic Women on the Move.* New York: Russell Sage, 1973.

Rossi, A.S. "Status of Women in Graduate Departments of Sociology." *American Sociologist* 5(1970): 1-12.

Safilios-Rothschild, C. "Women and Work: Policy Implications and Prospects for the Future." In A. Stromberg and S. Harkness (Eds.), *Women Working: Theories and Facts in Perspective.* Palo Alto, Calif.: Mayfield, 1978.

Schuler, R. "Sex, Organizational Level and Outcome Importance: Where the Differences Are." *Personnel Psychology* 28(1975): 365-375.

Simon, R.S., Clark, S.M., and Galway, K. "The Woman Ph.D.: A Recent Profile." *Social Problems* 15(1967): 221-236.

Standley, K. and Soule, B. "Women in Male-dominated Professions: Contrasts in Their Personal and Vocational Histories." *Journal of Vocational Psychology* 4(1974): 245-258.

Weisstein, N. "How can a little girl like you teach a great big class of men? the Chairman said, and other adventures of a woman in science." In S. Ruddick and P. Daniels (Eds.), *Working It Out*. New York: Pantheon, 1977.

Wikler, N. "Sexism in the Classroom." Paper presented at the annual convention of the American Socioloigcal Association, New York, September 1976.

Wood, M. and Greenfeld, S. "Meaning of Success: A Comparison of Attitudes Among Women in Male-dominated and female-dominated occupations." Paper presented at the annual convention of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, Ontario, August, 1978.

Woolf, V. *Three Guineas (1938)*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1966.

THE MINNESOTA EXPERIENCE:

Continuing Education for Women 1960 to 1978

An Institution's Response to the Changing Transition Points in Women's Lives

Judy Mahle Lutter

In the summer of 1978, a two-year, $55,000 research grant was funded by the Northwest Area Foundation to examine the history, impact, and growth of Continuing Education for Women (CEW) at the University of Minnesota.

On October 22, 1979 we mailed a letter to 2,200 women to be surveyed as a part of our research. Names had been randomly selected from some 25,000 women who had had some contact with Continuing Education for Women at Minnesota since its beginnings in 1960.

Two days after the letter was mailed, Edith Mucke, director, received a phone call. The voice at the other end said "I would like to help out, but I'm not sure how you got my name; I don't recall any contact with the program." "Well," asked Edith, "did you ever inquire about the Minnesota Plan?" Yes, she had, probably in 1961; she had even gone over to register for a class. But as she filled out her forms, the registrar said, "Oh my dear, you'll be the oldest one in the class!" The woman said she thought about that for several minutes and let the uncertainties of this whole decision overwhelm her. She did not complete her registration or continue her education. "How old," asked Edith curiously, "were you?" "Twenty," she replied.

This anecdote highlights for me the changes which have occurred since 1960. Then, a "really old" woman of 30 or 35 was obviously intimidated and perhaps never even considered returning to school or furthering her education. Today, women over 62 make up 10 percent of our CEW enrollment; many also attend day school and extension classes, where their presence adds dimension to others' lives as well as their own.

The Minnesota experience with CEW has entered its twentieth year. From its modest teaching beginnings of two or three liberal arts seminars limited to 25 students each, Continuing Education for Women has grown to a department offering between 300 and 400 courses and registering over 4,500 students a year. What was then a new idea has become almost commonplace. It is no longer unusual to provide opportunities for a woman to continue her education. Numerous other agencies, public and private, try to tap this potential market.

In this atmosphere of classes for everyone, offered almost anywhere, how does a CEW program at a major university justify its existence? What unique qualities does it possess that allow it to remain viable? What are its purposes and how well are they being met?

In 1960 the principle objectives of Minnesota's experimental plan for women were to enrich a woman's life and to make her a more productive member of society. The Minnesota Plan was originally organized with a counseling/research component under Virginia L. Senders, attached to the Dean of Students, and an experimental teaching component directed by Elizabeth L. Cless in the General Extension Division. These two women, as originators of the Minnesota Plan, had the idea that most women, because of the discontinuities in their lives, needed to resume or continue their education. Because of the years devoted by most women to marriage and children, the assumption was that a certain obsolescence confronted women in things academic and professional.

The Minnesota Plan stressed accessibility. Although the idea was new, women were eager to explore the possibilities of continuing education. In the first five years 2,602 women filled out a form which gave them access to courses and other services. Seventy-five percent of these women took the next step, which was to talk with a Minnesota Plan Counselor. These counselors were women who were aware of and sympathetic to the difficulties and uncertainties many women faced. They helped a woman decide and plan for the future.

Changes in Population. The women at Minnesota were aware of their pioneer status. The population in those early years was carefully studied. Statistics indicated that the typical mature woman, joining the Minnesota Plan and thereby noting an interest in returning to school, was a 36-year-old housewife from the Minneapolis-St. Paul area. She had three young children and her husband was a professional man. Typically, she had graduated from college 15 years earlier and, while she was not presently working, she looked forward to a teaching career in the future. Her reasons for returning to school, however, included self-enrichment along with vocational aims.

Today the average CEW student at Minnesota is 42, married, with two children. A fall 1978 profile of students indicates she may work full- or part-time, will probably have had some college, is involved in community affairs and has a family income of about $20,000 a year.

Special Course Offerings. Interdisciplinary seminars such as New Worlds of Knowledge were the first course offerings created especially for women. Originally they were noncredit courses; they were, however, very demanding academically. Women who participated in these seminars developed a particular feeling of community. To be a Minnesota Planner in 1960 to 1965 had real meaning and some status. Realizing that this was a period of transition--a time to explore new intellectual capacities and desires --faculty and staff tried to facilitate interaction between students. Because it seemed to be difficult to find time for social events, women relied on a quarterly newsletter for information and news of each other's progress.

Structural Changes in 1965. In 1965 the five-year Carnegie funding ended and the various aspects of the plan were incorporated into the University budget. The undergraduate components eventually found focus in the Women's Center, funded by the Office of Student Affairs. This office took over some of the services offered by the Minnesota Plan such as child care and job placement. It also became an advocacy center with a library and personnel to provide guidance for women.

The part of the original plan which retained the label Continuing Education for Women was in 1965 primarily concerned with course offerings. It continued to use the various counseling services to provide direction for its students, but generally sought to increase its audience by offering different, innovative courses to an increasing number and variety of women.

This fragmentation of the program made it difficult for individual women to identify themselves with any particular plan or group. Gradually, therefore, the CEW component realized that it could survive only if it once again emphasized the personal, facilitating qualities which were an important component of all CEW classes.

The program at Minnesota has always had a strong grass roots flavor. The astronomical growth of CEW in the past eight years did not just happen. The small CEW staff, which has grown from a director, secretary, and part-time graduate students in 1967 to a director, two assistants, a Community Program Coordinator and three secretaries today, have listened carefully to the women using their services and have launched programs they believed fit changing needs. Although individual participants serve on the advisory board and other students often make their wishes known through course evaluations or discussions with faculty or staff, our study is the first systematic evaluation of classes and participants since 1965. Without this information, many programming decisions were necessarily made without supportive data.

It is interesting to note, however, that our research ethnographer, who was totally unaware of the program, has provided pictures of the population which are very similar to those Edith Mucke and her staff used as a basis for programming for many years.

What were the assumptions underlying recent changes? How have women responded? Who has used the courses?

One assumption was that a woman could use courses not only for intellectual knowledge but to enhance her self-image. Another was that historical changes had increased the variety of life styles open to women so that course offerings needed to be more diverse.

There was the knowledge that the other returning women could act as a mutual support group and help ease problems. Many women reported having formed close, new friendships with people who shared their interests and dreams as well as their classes. They told CEW staff that studying together, sharing information and lunch engendered a rapport often missing among old friends, who might not understand the multi-faceted problems of the mature student.

A supportive atmosphere, then, is crucially important. But the old Minnesota Planner identification has become meaningless. Some women become CEW regulars (50 percent of our fall 1978 participants were repeaters), but others are drawn by specific courses and may not take another course for several years. I have asked students, "Is this your first CEW course?" Sometimes the student is puzzled. Some are not aware that CEW is a separate program in the University. "How is a CEW course different from other U of M courses?" they ask.

Increasingly, a CEW course is different because it takes into consideration realities and problems faced by women which are different from those faced by men.

Course content and the fact that 97 percent of the students are women allows exploration of these differences. The first course to recognize these facts--and help women find focus and direction in their lives--was Guidelines, begun in 1967. Its purpose was to provide, through testing and semi-structured group discussion, a way to obtain the information needed to make and carry out educational and vocational decisions. It gave women a chance to ask questions and seek answers in a group setting. There was less need for overt commitment, yet a woman received a great deal of support and the feeling that she was not alone. After seven years the 278 women who had taken Guidelines were surveyed. They indicated a high degree of satisfaction with the course, and credited it with effecting major and minor changes in their lives. These women offered the following advice to other women in transition: "Realize there is an advantage to age and experience. Don't be afraid to change even if the unknown is threatening."

The enthusiasm for this course encouraged the CEW program staff to include other classes which helped a woman explore new ways of behaving and new roles. Returning to school led to a new consciousness for many women. In 1968 a seminar, Woman in America, used techniques which would be labeled consciousness raising several years later. This course and another, Woman: A Sense of Identity, were experiential credit classes. Some members of the faculty and administration questioned credit status but were admonished by a physics professor, who said "No one questions the value of the physics lab." This "lab for life", he said, is equally important.

Degree Programming. Many women still find degree credits crucial; for some the dream of a lifetime is to obtain a degree. Therefore, CEW programming is now carefully designed so that a woman can earn more than half of all credits necessary for a B.A. The course material is identical with that found in day or night school. The hours a class meets and the fact that the majority of students are women, however, make CEW courses more attractive to many returning women.

Non-credit classes have also grown in popularity since 1970. Non-credit classes range from those which give focus to the desire for self-knowledge, such as the Joy of Being and Journals to specific skills such as Making Words Work for You to Symphonic Masterworks and Victorian Collectables.

The fact that today more women are working for pay outside the home has influenced the program at Minnesota in several ways. Course offerings have reflected this change. Some women find that they need a B.A. or special certification in order to find a satisfying job. CEW continues to provide the flexibility many women need, offering women who work classes at flexible hours and in convenient locations. Designed specifically for the career women are the Breakfast Seminars, that cover such topics as Competition and Strategies for Moving Up.

The Math Anxiety Program was created in 1976 because women were saying, "I can't even qualify for some jobs because my math background is so bad" or, "My divorce has created a lot of money problems; I even have trouble balancing a checkbook." The Math Anxiety program addresses the need that many women have to assess their true capabilities. After completing a diagnostic clinic, women are counseled concerning the appropriate math course. Optional support groups provide the opportunity to discuss what it is that is frightening about math and how to eliminate those feelings.

Not only course offerings have changed. CEW classes had met once a week during the day on the assumption that this pattern logically fit into a woman's schedule. With many more women working there was an increased demand for lunch hour, late afternoon, and weekend seminars or classes.

Minnesota was among the first to offer Brown Bag courses, sessions which met over the noon hour at downtown locations. Some programs were also offered at night, although these had to be carefully scheduled so as not to conflict with the large number of courses offered by the Extension Division.

Flexible course scheduling has again raised the question: why special courses for women? Last fall I interviewed many members of the faculty and administration at the University of Minnesota to determine how they saw CEW and what particular questions and direction they had for our research. The question of "why special courses?" was often raised. The data collected during the last year strongly support the idea of special courses, special times, variety in length, location, credit and non-credit courses for returning women. The transition points for women remain different than for men.

Supplementary services, particularly counseling, are extremely important. But many women will become aware of these services and of their desire to use them only after a CEW course or two have broadened their expectations. The courses can suggest change and make transition easier. As CEW at Minnesota serves an increasingly diverse population, we must be allowed to experiment to provide answers for women in a classroom setting.

Our current research includes coding of archival data on 2,800 women who have recently received a 22-page questionnaire. This questionnaire includes data on education, employment, attitudes, reactions to the program, and suggestions for the future. One member of our team is an ethnographer who spent last year doing field work in CEW classes; she will use this background to conduct intensive interviews with 15 women. I will be interviewing approximately 25 women to broaden our understanding of what impact the program has had on their lives. Interviews will also be conducted with children and spouses. A comparative study on women who have not had previous contact with CEW will attempt to describe the differences between these two populations and suggest new programming possibilities.

How can a CEW program at a major University justify its existence? What unique qualities does it possess that allow it to remain viable? What are its purposes, and how well are they being mer? New answers to these questions offer exciting possibilities in programming and other services to enrich and change women's lives.

MARITAL STATUS--CEW MINNESOTA 1960-78

Status	1960-65		1966-71		1978	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Single	No numbers available	5	67	5.8	207	18.4
Married		85	913	80.0	682	60.6
Divorced		7	113	10.0	114	10.1
Separated					31	2.8
Widowed		4	50	4.4	53	4.7

NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Category	1960-65		1966-71		1978	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
0	150	6	47	4.4	387	34.4
1-2	1,068	43	421	39.1	354	31.5
3-4	1,013	41	501	46.5	300	26.7
5+	233	9	287	9.4	84	7.5

Evaluation and Assessment
CEW Minnesota
Edith E. Mucke
200 Wesbrook Hall
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, MN 55455

AGES--WOMEN CEW MINNESOTA

Category	1960-65		1966-71		1978	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
18-22	71	3	21	1.8	22	2.0
23-27	358	14	152	13.3	126	10.4
28-32	498	19	213	18.6	158	14.1
33-37	516	20	239	20.9	155	13.8
38-42	436	17	206	18.0	135	12.1
43-47	313	12	169	14.8	112	9.9
48-52	220	8	79	6.9	118	10.5
53-57	108	4	33	2.9	87	7.6
58-62	54	2	14	1.2	62	5.5
63-67	18	1	2	0.1	46	4.1
68+	5	0			42	3.9
	Modal Age 35 Median 35.5 Mean 36		Modal Age 35 Median 37.1 Mean 36		Modal Age 27 Median 40 Mean 42	

Evaluation and Assessment
CEW Minnesota
Edith E. Mucke
200 Wesbrook Hall
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, MN 55455

SHIFT IN EMPLOYMENT STATUS--WOMEN--CEW MINNESOTA 1960-1978

Category	1960-65		1966-71		1978	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Housewife and/or Mother	No numbers available	73.0	801	70.1	428	38.0
Working part-time		27.0	165	14.4	169	15.0
Working full-time			178	15.5	391	34.8

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL--WOMEN CEW MINNESOTA

	1960-65		1966-71		1978	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Less than high school	19	1	22	1.9	6	.5
High school diploma	287	11	133	11.6	113	10.0
Vocational-technical school	153	6	119	10.4	25	2.2
Some college	1,022	39	473	41.3	242	21.5
Two-year college degree	Not recorded separately				80	7.1
Nursing diploma					30	2.7
Four-year college degree	791	31	264	23.1	276	24.5
Some graduate work	208	8	86	7.5	82	7.3
Graduate professional degree	101	4	40	3.5	120	10.7

Evaluation and Assessment
CEW Minnesota
Edith E. Mucke
200 Wesbrook Hall
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, MN 55455

Bibliography

Hendel, Darwin and Hockin, Robert. "A Portrait of Fall Quarter 1978 participants in CEW at the University of Minnesota." Unpublished paper, University of Minnesota, 1979.

Lutter, Judy Mahle and Mucke, Edith. "Reflections on Women Studying Women." Unpublished paper, University of Minnesota, 1979.

McCune, Cornelia. "Some Demographic Data on Minnesota Planners 1960-71." Unpublished paper, University of Minnesota, 1971.

Murad, Maria. "The CEW Woman, Who is she?" Unpublished paper, University of Minnesota, 1979.

Schletzer, Vera M. *A Five Year Report 1960-65 of the Minnesota Plan for the Continuing Education of Women.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1967.

THE EFFECTS OF TEACHERS' EXPECTANCIES AND ATTRIBUTIONS ON STUDENTS' EXPECTANCIES FOR SUCCESS IN MATHEMATICS

Jacquelynne E. Parson, Kirby A. Heller, and Carol Kaczala

Growing concern has been expressed over the differential participation of boys and girls in high school mathematics courses. Compared to boys, girls elect reduced participation as soon as this option is available to them. It is indisputable that this underparticipation has both serious short- and long-term ramifications. Fennema (1976) has argued that the non-election of mathematics courses is the most important cause of sex-related differences in the learning of mathematics. Further, in terms of the future educational and career potentials of women, Sells (1976) has proposed that the avoidance of high school mathematics courses acts as a "critical filter." Because mathematics is a prerequisite for many college majors, limited mathematics background effectively precludes women from entering numerous career areas which include, but are not limited to, those in science and mathematics.

The purpose of the research project discussed in this paper is the investigation of factors that might influence students' decisions to take mathematics when it becomes an option. While we are interested in the processes affecting the participation of both boys and girls in advanced high school math, our *focus* in this paper is on sex differences.

One factor that has been shown to influence course selection is one's expectancy for success (see Parsons, Kaczala, Futterman, Goff, Karabenick, Heller, and Meece, 1979). Research into achievement behaviors and choice has confirmed a link between expectancies for success and both academic behavioral choice and task persistence (Parsons, et. al., 1979). In addition, sex differences in expectancies for success are frequently found on a variety of tasks--mathematics being one--with girls in most cases having lower expectancies than boys (Parsons, et. al., 1979). The question addressed in this paper is the following: "How are teachers influencing students' expectancies for success in mathematics?"

Effect of Teachers' Expectancies. The effects of teachers' expectancies on their students' performance have been studied extensively since the publication of Rosenthal and Jacobson's *Pygmalion in the Classroom* (1968). While their results have been difficult to replicate, research by Brophy and Good (1974) has shown that teachers' naturally occurring expectancies for the students in their classrooms affect the kinds of interactions teachers have with their students. For example, students for whom the teacher has high expectancies are more likely to have their correct responses praised, are more likely to be questioned repeatedly until they give a correct answer, and are less likely to be criticized than students for whom the teacher has low expectancies. While girls are rated by teachers as being more effective learners and more hardworking than boys, it is the boys who have the *most* interactions of all kinds with their teachers. In fact the boys for whom the teacher has high expectancies also have the most favorable interactions with their teachers; the low expectancy boys are criticized the most, while girls of all achievement levels are treated similarly. Thus, teachers treat girls for whom they have high expectancies in ways that are less facilitative of achievement than the way they treat comparable groups of boys.

Another mechanism that might explain girls' lower expectancies for success has been proposed by Dweck and her colleagues (Dweck, Davidson, Nelson, and Enna, 1978). Their model emphasizes the importance of the types of praise and criticism used by the teacher and its relation to students' academic behaviors. Boys who receive frequent criticism for academic as well as nonacademic behaviors (such as conduct or neatness) can discount these negative evaluations as indicants of their own abilities. Rather, the teachers' criticism of the boys can be interpreted as a characteristic of enduring attitude of the teacher. In contrast, girls receive less criticism than boys, and it is usually not directed to their conduct or other nonintellectual aspects of their work. Criticism is most likely to be directed to the quality of their work. Because it is used quite specifically, this criticism provides more information about girls' levels of ability. The same line of reasoning applies to the use of praise.

As can be seen, it is the proportion of specific to generalized feedback that is important in this model. The teacher need not have differential expectancies for boys and girls to behave in ways that adversely affect girls' expectancies for success. Strong support was found for this model in an observational study of three fourth and fifth grade classrooms. Less than one third of the criticism directed to boys was contingent on academic performance while more than two-thirds of the criticism directed to girls was aimed at the quality of their work. Boys also received more praise contingent on the quality of their work than did girls. In addition, the teacher was more likely to attribute failure to a lack of effort for boys than for girls.

Based on this research, two questions come to mind: first, are there sex differences in teachers' expectancies for their students in math classrooms? And second, what is the relation between teachers' expectancies, teacher-student interactions, and students' expectancies in math?

With regard to these questions the folowing hypotheses were generated: (a) teachers would give more positive feedback to students in the high expectancy group than to those in the low expectancy group; (b) boys, who have higher expectancies than girls, would receive more indiscrminate criticism (criticism directed toward work, the form of the work and conduct) than girls; (c) girls would receive a higher proportion of criticism on the quality of their work and more indiscriminate praise overall than boys; (d) teachers' behaviors would influence students' expectancies for success; (e) students who received positive feedback would have higher expectancies for success than those who received negative feedback; and (f) teachers' attributions to effort would influence students' expectancies positively.

Subjects of Survey. The subjects in this study included students and their math teachers in eight seventh grade classrooms, and seven ninth grade classrooms. These grades were chosen because previous research had identified the junior high school years as those in which sex differences in attitudes toward math and achievement in math begin to emerge (see Parsons, et. al., 1979 for review).

Students' expectancies and teachers' expectancies were measured by questionnaires. On the student questionnaire, items were divided into those assessing expectancies for familiar tasks and those assessing expectancies for unfamiliar tasks. Previous research has shown that sex differences are more likely to occur in expectancies for unfamiliar tasks. Our results supported this pattern; girls had lower expectancies for future performance (an unfamiliar task). We found no sex differences in the teachers' expectancies for their students, i.e., teachers in general had equally high expectancies for both boys and girls. One sex difference, however, did emerge on the teacher questionnaire; teachers rated girls as having tried harder than they rated the boys.

The observational system used was a modified version of both Brophy and Good's (1969) and Dweck's systems (Dweck, et. al., 1978). Observers coded interactions between teachers and individual students during 10 classroom sessions. The percentages of types of praise and criticism given to boys and girls did not differ. In addition, there were no sex differences in teachers' attributions to effort.

To answer the question concerning predictors of students' expectancies, stepwise regressions were done to select the variables that best predicted students' expectancies for success. Predictor items included sex of student, most recent report card grade, teachers' expectancies for their students and the most important of the teacher-student interaction variables.

With regard to expectancies for familiar tasks, only teachers' expectancies accounted for a significant amount of the variance (31 percent). For expectancies for unfamiliar tasks, teachers' expectancies and sex of student were significant predictors (21 percent). None of the classroom interaction variables yielded a significant effect.

Contrary to our predictions, teachers did not give more positive feedback to students in the high expectancy group, and boys and girls did not differ in the discriminate and indiscriminate praise and criticism of the quality of their work, the form of their work or their conduct. The only significant main effect of sex on evaluative feedback was the amount of criticism from the teacher directed toward work and toward the quality and form of work combined; girls received less work-related criticism than did boys, and less criticism to the quality plus form of their work. Surprisingly, boys and girls did not differ in the amount of criticism directed to conduct. Classroom interactional measures were not predictive of student expectancies in these analyses.

Teachers' and Students' Expectancies. It is puzzling that teachers' expectancies as expressed on a questionnaire were related to students' expectancies but that their expectancies were not expressed in their behaviors. One reason that teachers' expectancies are related to students' expectancies may be that they are both strongly associated with students' actual achievement. Teachers' expectancies, therefore, do not necessarily reflect a bias by the teachers, but a natural response to the behaviors of their students. This, however, is not the only explanation for the relation between teachers' and students' expectancies. In our study, although the correlation between report card grades and teachers' expectancies was high (r=.66), teachers' expectancies accounted for a significant amount of variance in students' expectancies, even after the effect of report card grades was partialled out.

Interesting evidence concerning the relation between students' achievement and teachers' expectancies comes from other research as well. Teachers have been found to form expectancies early in the school year before they have had the opportunity to become fully acquainted with their students and their capabilities. For teachers whose expectancies do not change over the school year, their attitudes toward their students are probably based on such things as school records, other teachers' reports, and knowledge of siblings. One longitudinal study, Crano and Mellon (1978), directly investigated the direction of causality between teachers' expectancies and students' achievement through cross-lagged panel analyses. They found that teachers' expectancies were more likely to affect students' achievement than students' achievement were to affect teachers' expectancies. It seems likely therefore, that teachers' expectancies are related to students' expectancies in ways that cannot be totally accounted for by their common association with students' achievement.

In sum, while the proposed relation between teachers' expectancies and students' expectancies was supported, the mediating effects of classroom behavior on expectancies were not demonstrated. The analyses reported thus far, however, were performed on the entire sample. It is possible that the effects of classroom behaviors are dependent on an interaction between teacher style and student characteristics. For example, some teachers may treat boys and girls differently while others may not. By collapsing across all of our teachers, these effects may have been masked, The analyses to be discussed now address this possibility.

Effects of High and Low Sex-differentiation in Classrooms. In order to provide an additional test of possible mediators of sex-differentiated expectancies, we selected from the sample the five classrooms with the largest sex differences in the students' self-reported expectancies and the five classrooms with nonsignificant sex differences in expectancies. The five low-difference classrooms consisted of two seventh grade classes (one male teacher and one female teacher) and three ninth grade classrooms (two female teachers and one male teacher). The five high-difference classrooms had four seventh grade classes (three male teachers and one female teacher) and one ninth grade class (male teacher). The observational data were reanalyzed using classroom type (high sex-differentiation in expectancies versus low sex-differentiation in expectancies). Since we wanted to compare classrooms, raw frequency rather than standardized scores was used.

As was true for the entire sample data analyses reported previously, most variables did not yield a significant difference. None of the variables predicted by the Dweck model yielded class-type effects. Those effects that were significant were divided into three types: behaviors characteristic of teacher style (teacher behaviors under primary control of the teacher, e.g., use of praise following a correct answer), behaviors characteristic of student style (behaviors under primary control of the student, e.g., student initiated dyadic interactions), and behaviors dependent on both teacher and student style (behaviors requiring interactive responses of both the teacher and students, e.g., total dyadics).

Clearly, high and low sex-differentiated classrooms differed in the dynamics we observed. Teachers in high sex-differentiated classrooms, in comparison to teachers in low sex-differentiated classrooms, were more critical of work, form and conduct, were more likley to use a public teaching style and less likely to use dyadic interactions, and were more likely to rely on student volunteers for answers rather than directing the class participation by calling on specific children.

Stepwise regressions were performed to determine which behavioral measures best discriminated between the two classroom types. To add generalizability, three stepwise regressions were performed, each using a random 60 percent of the sample. Six variables emerged as significant predictors in all three samples. They are listed in order of importance here: total number of dyadics, total number of open questions (questions that are answered by a student who has raised his hand to be called on), total number of criticism, total number of conduct criticisms, total number of criticisms in teacher initiated response opportunities and total number of work praises.

The effect of the child's sex on student-teacher interaction patterns depended on classroom type. In particular, girls interacted more and received more praise in low sex-differentiated classrooms. Boys, on the other hand, interacted more and received more priase in the high sex-differentiated classrooms. To the extent that teacher praise can be viewed as a reinforcer, these results suggest that participation rates are being increased by teacher praise. These data also suggest that girls' expectancies will be higher when they are praised and when they participate more. Interestingly, the boys' expectancies do not suffer from the attention given to the girls in the low-sex-differentiated classrooms, while the girls' expectancies do appear to suffer from inattention in the high sex-differentiated classrooms.

Teacher Expectancies in Sex-differentiated Classrooms. We next divided the sample into two additional groups: those students for whom the teacher had high expectancies and those students for whom the teacher had low expectancies. In general, we found that both "bright" males and "bright" females (males and females for whom the teachers had the highest expectancies) were treated differently in each of the two classroom types. "Bright" girls interacted the most, answered more questions, received more work and form praise and less criticism in the low sex-differentiated classrooms. In contrast, "bright" boys were accorded the most praise nad interacted the most in the high sex-difference classrooms. "Bright" girls were accorded the least amount of praise of any of the eight groups in the high sex-differentiated classrooms.

One is tempted to conclude that these teachers were avoiding giving their brightest female students the praise they deserved. It isn't that these teachers did not use praise; in fact, their "bright" boys received more praise than any other group.

While our data do not allow for the text of alternative explanations as to what is accounting for this pattern of results, we did consult with several teachers. Two explanations emerged with some regularity. Female teachers explained the pattern by invoking their concern over boys' school motivations coupled with their confidence in girls' motivation. They felt that boys need the most encouragement, especially bright boys who might otherwise go adrift. Bright girls, on the other hand, were felt to be adequately motivated and not in particular need of reinforcements. In contrast to this explanation, some male teachers felt they had to constrain their positive interactions with girls in order to discourage any crushes that the girls might develop. It should be noted, however, that to the extent that this dynamic is indeed influencing the interaction patterns of the male math teachers and girl students, it is more pronounced when the girl student is considered bright by the teacher. Less bright girls are not denied positive reinforcement for their work in these same classrooms.

This sex-differentiated interaction pattern is apparent only in high sex-differentiated classrooms. In low sex-differentiated classrooms, it is the bright boys who are not being praised; this difference, however, can be explained by the low participation rates in general of these boys and by the low frequency of praise used by these teachers.

In concluding, two additional points are important to stress: first, the frequency rates of all these interactive variables are quite low; there is not much interaction between any specific child and the teacher in math classrooms. Second, interactional variables are not as predictive of students' expectancies as are other variables we have measured, e.g., students' sex and teachers' verbally reported expectancies. Consequently, while classroom interactions may be having an effect on children's expectancies, the effects are not large and certainly should not be irreversible.

What happens to bright girls. In summary, girls, especially "bright" girls, are being treated differently than boys in most classrooms. The direction of this difference, however, varies markedly between these two classroom types. In particular, girls are praised less and have lower participation rates than boys in precisely those classrooms in which the girls have lower expectancies for their math performance than do the boys. In contrast, the girls, especially the "bright" girls, are praised more and interact more in the classrooms in which they have equally high expectations for their math performance as the boys.

Bibliography

Brophy, J. and Good, T. *Teacher-Student Relationships: Causes and Consequences.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974.

Brophy, J. and Good, T. *Teacher-Child Dyadic Interaction: A Manual for Coding Classroom Behavior.* Report Series No. 27. The Research and Development Center for Teacher Education, The University of Texas at Austin, 1969.

Crano, W.D. and Nelson, P.M. "Causal Influence of Teachers' Expectations on Children's Academic Performance: A Cross-lagged Panel Analysis." *Journal of Educational Psychology* 70(1978): 39-49.

Dweck, C.S., Davidson, W., Nelson, S. and Enna, B. "Sex Differences in Learned Helplessness: II. The Contingencies of Evaluative Feedback in the Classrrom and III. An Experimental Analysis." *Developmental Psychology* 14(1978): 268-280.

Fennema, E. *Influence of Selected Cognitive, Affective, and Educational Variables on Sex-related Differences in Mathematics Learning and Studying.* Report prepared for the National Institute of Education, October, 1976.

Parsons, J.E., Kaczala, C., Futterman, R., Karabenick, J., Goff, S., Heller, K., and Meece, J.L. *Annual Report for National Institute of Education.* Project No. NIE-G-78-0022, March 1979.

Rosenthal, R. and Jacobson, L. *Pygmalion in the Classroom.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968.

Sells, L.W. "The Mathematics Filter and the Education of Women and Minorities." Paper presented at the annaul meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Boston, 1976.

Weiner, B. *Theories of Motivation.* Chicago: Marhama, 1972.

CONGRUENCE BETWEEN PROFESSIONAL GOALS, JOB RESPONSIBILITIES AND UNIVERSITY PRIORITIES FOR WOMEN FACULTY IN BIG TEN SCHOOLS OF EDUCATION

Phyllis Blumenfeld, Shirley Cooper, Geraldine Markel
and Laura Williams

Purpose of the Study. The faculty women members of the University of Michigan School of Education Commission for Women set out to discover whether or not women faculty members of schools of education in our sister Big Ten universities perceived congruence between their own professional goals, their job responsibilities, and the priorities of the universities for which they work. In the process we hoped to help women faculty in these schools and in other schools of education to further their careers in academia.

Source of Data. A 70-item questionnaire was designed by colleagues both within the School of Education and at the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan. The questionnaire collected information on demographic variables, professional goals, job responsibilities, and university priorities as perceived by the respondents. Items also covered such topics as the following: previous employment, field of specialization, source of financial support for graduate training, perception of locus of control in decision-making regarding time and task commitments, collegial networks, publications, and membership and participation in professional organizations. Of the 224 questionnaires distributed to all women Assistant and Associate Professors in the Big Ten schools of education, 132 or 58.9 percent were returned.

Description of the Sample. Of the respondents 52.7 percent held the rank of Assistant Professor and 47.3 percent were at the Associate Professor rank. They have been at their present ranks for the following numbers of years: 44.7 percent for less than 3 years, 35.6 percent between four and six years, 13.6 percent for seven to ten years and 6.1 percent for 11 years or more. Of the respondents 52.3 percent are tenured, 37.9 percent are on the tenured track and

9.8 percent have not yet received tenure.

Only 8.6 percent entered the faculty of the university in which they teach at the associate professor level which usually carries tenure with it, while the remaining group entered at the following ranks: 59.4 percent as assistant professors, 6.3 percent as research assistants, 21.1 percent as instructors, and 4.7 percent as lecturers. The majority, 62.6 percent have been at the university for less than ten years, while 37.4 percent have been on the faculties for more than ten years. The majority are over forty years of age, 58.7 percent, while the remainder are under forty years of age. With regard to marital status, 43.9 percent are presently married, while 22 percent are widowed or divorced and 34.1 percent are single. Less than half of them have children (41.6 percent), and these tend to be small families of one or two children (29.5 percent). However, many of the women faculty have responsibility for children who are still of school age: 43 women reported having children under nineteen years of age.

They received their graduate training in the following fields: Curriculum and Instruction (37.9 percent), Educational Psychology (15.2 percent), Special Education (9.8 percent), Physical Education (9.1 percent), Administration and Counseling (6.8 percent each), with the rest falling in occupational education, philosophy, adult education and areas not listed on the questionnaire.

Prior to coming to their present positions they were graduate students (31.8 percent), taught at a university or four year college (28.1 percent). Other types of positions held included administration at an elementary or secondary school, research positions in a university or a non-educational institution, teaching at a junior or community college and administration at a non-educational institution. The crucial reasons given most frequently for leaving previous positions included completion of degree and reception of better offer (52.8 percent), and to broaden professional experience (46 percent). Their most frequently listed very important reasons for pursuing graduate studies were a strong interest in the field (50 percent), "degree qualifies me for a broader range of jobs" (33.1 percent), and desire to teach at a college or university level (32.8 percent). Only 18 percent stated that their most important reason for going on for a higher degree was to do research in their field of study. While 20.9 percent indicated that they received from 76 to 100 percent of their funding for their advanced degrees from the government or from the institution granting it, the majority tended to get at least a portion of the funding from employment in and outside the field, savings, family of origin or their partner.

Participation in Professional Organizations and Publication Records. While the majority belong to one or more professional organizations, their participation level is not particularly high.

Many reported they participate only slightly or not at all. This may be tied into the fact that many are not well known outside their own universities, because they have published very little to date. In fact it can be noted that 12.3 percent have not published at all, while 46.9 percent have published six or more things. The majority have published at least one journal article, while 25.2 percent have published 11 or more such articles. Positions of responsibility in professional organizations tend to go to the people who are relatively well known in the field, and, on the whole, these faculty women are not gaining wide recognition through their publications.

Types of Job Responsibilities. The majority of the women teach classes and 65.2 percent teach both graduate and undergraduate courses, but only 7.6 percent teach classes numbering over 100 students. Of the 110 who responded to the question regarding the number of classes they teach, 64.6 percent reported that they teach three or fewer, while 35.5 percent reported that they teach four or more classes. They tend to be active in developing new courses, as 53.9 percent of the 131 answering the question regarding development of new courses responded that they had developed at least one new course and 39.7 percent that they had developed four or more new courses within the last three years. They also tend to teach a number of different courses, with 43.4 percent reporting they have taught five or fewer different courses and 41.8 percent reporting they have taught six or more different courses within the last three years.

Only 32.8 percent of the women reported that they spend no time in supervision of field placement or clinical experiences, while 67.2 percent reported that they engage in some of this type of work. The majority of the faculty women reported spending less than 15 hours per week in conference with students, while 22.7 percent reported spending more than 15 hours in this activity.

Locus of Control for Decision-Making Reported by Women Faculty. It seemed to the researchers that the question of influence of various factors on decision making in determining job responsibilities was an important one, because it is important to know the extent to which these faculty women felt they were responsible for their own professional decisions. Therefore they were asked to indicate the extent to which certain factors influenced their job responsibilities, the number of hours they teach and their service activities to such places as the state and the public school sector of their communities. The women tend to give little credit to unions, faculty committees, or influence outside the university for such decision making. They tend to assign themselves the greatest role in decision making followed by the department chair.

Congruency Comparisons. As indicated earlier, the chief goal of the study was to find out whether or not the faculty women in the Big Ten schools of education perceived congruence between their own professional goals and their job responsibilities and university priorities. They were, therefore, asked to rank from one (none) to five (a great deal) the time allocated to tasks in terms of what they actually do, what they would like to do, and what they perceive the university would like them to do. Comparisons were then made using a t statistic to compare what they reported they like to do with what they do (Do-Like Discrepancy), and what they like to do with what they perceive the university would like them to do (Like-University Discrepancy), and what they do with what they perceive the university would like them to do (Do-University Discrepancy). Table I reports the summary of their responses and Table II reports the congruence testing results.

TABLE I

RATINGS OF RESPONSIBILITIES, GOALS AND UNIVERSITY PRIORITIES BY WOMEN FACULTY OF SCHOOLS OF EDUCATION IN BIG TEN UNIVERSITIES

Job Responsibilities	Time Allocation		Desired Time Allocation		Perceived University Priority	
	M	S.D.	M	S.D.	M	S.D.
Classroom Instruction	3.34	.97	3.27	.84	3.13	.87
Course Related Activities	3.61	.97	3.41	.84	2.80	.88
Supervision of Students in Field	2.52	1.30	2.39	1.12	2.06	1.03
Advising Students	3.44	1.10	2.93	.91	2.48	.87
In-Service Education	2.43	1.12	2.69	1.19	2.15	1.07
Chair Doctoral Committee	2.20	1.26	2.70	1.15	3.08	1.18
Member Doctoral Committee	2.56	1.04	2.81	.92	2.99	1.06
Research	2.89	1.21	3.95	1.10	4.60	.79
Publication Preparation	2.84	1.19	3.90	1.08	4.56	.79
University/College Committee	3.22	1.03	2.43	.87	3.03	.99
Administration	3.11	1.47	2.53	1.36	2.50	1.15
Workshops and Speeches	2.72	1.04	2.75	1.00	2.57	1.14
Paid Consultant	2.12	1.00	2.79	1.14	2.10	1.02
Unpaid Consultant	2.53	.99	2.23	.89	2.44	1.07

Legend: 5 = a great deal of time
1 = none

TABLE II

CONGRUENCE BETWEEN RESPONSIBILITIES, GOALS AND UNIVERSITY PRIORITIES FOR WOMEN FACULTY OF SCHOOLS OF EDUCATION IN BIG TEN UNIVERSITIES

	Differences					
Responsibilities	Do-Like		Do-University		Like-University	
	t	sig.	t	sig.	t	sig.
Classroom Instruction	.7580	.4498	2.2000	.0296	1.5900	.1142
Course Related Activities	2.3939	.0181	7.7277	.0000	5.9157	.0000
Field Supervision	1.3041	.1945	4.5478	.0000	3.6046	.0004
Advising Students	6.3501	.0000	8.5611	.0000	4.7667	.0000
In-Service Education	-3.3026	.0012	2.9538	.0037	5.2858	.0000
Chair Doctoral Committee	-5.0926	.0000	-6.5799	.0000	-3.1107	.0023
Member Doctoral Committee	-3.2180	.0016	-3.5986	.0005	-1.4573	.1475
Research	-10.539	.0000	-14.124	.0000	-5.3655	.0000
Publication Preparation	-10.229	.0000	-14.712	.0000	-5.6382	.0000
University/ College Committee	8.8575	.0000	2.0029	.0473	-5.4575	.0000
Administration	5.5520	.0000	4.8317	.0000	.3943	.6940
Workshops and Speeches	- .3801	.7045	1.3403	.1825	1.6070	.1105
Paid Consultant	-6.9547	.0000	.2687	.7886	5.9216	.0000
Unpaid Consultant	3.5000	.0006	.6847	.4947	-2.0427	.0431

The women rated classroom instruction, course-related activities, advising students, university and college committees and administrative activities as their most time-consuming tasks. They also rated classroom instruction and course-related activities as things they like to do, but research and publication preparation received even higher ratings. When rating university priorities, they ranked research and publication preparation as the two highest priorities followed by classroom instruction, chairing doctoral committees and serving on college and university committees. The differences for the categories were significant at the .05 level or beyond for the following comparisons between what the job requires and what the faculty member would like to do with her time: research, preparation of publications, paid consultantships, chairing doctoral committees, being a member of doctoral committees and in-service education. They indicated they desired to do the following tasks significantly less than they are actually doing them: serving on university and college committees, advising students, administration, unpaid consultantships and course-related activities.

When comparing what they do with what the university expects them to do, the women indicated the university expects more of the following than they actually do: preparation of publications, research, chairing doctoral committees, serving on doctoral committees. On the other hand, they do more of the following than they perceive the university expects: advising students, course-related acitivities, administration, in-service education, classroom instruction, and serving on university college committees.

When the comparison between what the women faculty *like* to do and what the university expects of them were made, they indicated they would prefer to do significantly more of the following than the university expects: course related activities, paid consultantships, in-service education, advising students, and supervision of students in the field. On the other hand, the university expects them to do more of the following than they desire: publication preparation, serving on university and college committees, research, chairing doctoral committees and unpaid consultantships.

Discrepancy Index Comparisons. In order to identify the relative degree of congruence by individual respondents, three total discrepancy indices were created: (1) the difference between what the women do and what they prefer to do (Do-Like Discrepancy); (2) the difference between what they do and perceived university priorities (Do-University Discrepancy); and (3) the difference between what they like to do and perceived university priorities (Like-University Discrepancy). These discrepancy categories were broken into low, moderate and high discrepancy groups to identify the 25 percent most congruent and incongruent respondents in the sample. Using Chi Square and Cramer's Phi, each two sets of discrepancies were compared.

Analyses of significant relationships suggest that there were really two groups of faculty women in this sample of respondents: (1) a group composed of those with preferences for tasks which are congruent with university priorities and incongruent with present job responsibilities and (2) a group doing what they prefer to do which is incongruent with perceived university priorities.

Comparisons Between Discrepancy Groups and Other Variables. In order to isolate the possible sources of the two groups projected above, Chi Square and Cramer's Phi analyses were made comparing the three sets of high-low discrepancy groups with respect to the following variables: age, rank, time on faculty, publication output, availability of role models, contacts with both female and male colleagues in other universities, and perception of sex discrimination as being operative in the careers of these faculty women.

These sets of comparisons yielded significant relationships between what the women do and what they perceive the university wants them to do and the variables of age and time on faculty. The older faculty members reported higher levels of discrepancy in this comparison than do younger faculty. The women who have been at the universities for longer time also reported higher discrepancy than their colleagues who had been there for a short time. In other words, older women and women who have been at the university for some time tend to perceive that they are not doing what the university values.

The comparisons of the various variables and the high and low groups with regard to what they *like* to do and what they perceive the university expects yielded the following significant relationships. (1) Younger women reported significantly less discrepancy between what they like to do and what they perceive to be university priorities than older women do. (2) Women who have been employed longer perceived greater discrepancy between what they like to do and what the university expects than those who have been employed for less time. (3) Women who have few or no contacts with colleagues in other universities tend to perceive greater discrepancy between what they like to do and what the university expects. This held true for both female and male contacts.

We are still analyzing the data to discover whether or not there are other relationships that appear to affect career outcomes for this sample. Based on analyses so far completed, it appears to us that the respondents would like to do more research and publication preparation but tend to perceive that their job tasks interfere. They appear to lack role models as the older women perceive the greatest discrepancy between what they do and what they like to do and university priorities. The examination of tasks assigned to them thus far indicates that the younger faculty women are in the same type of jobs as their older colleagues; unless they exercise careful decision-making and negotiation with regard to their job tasks and responsibilities, there is no reason to believe they will emerge from this university experience at a higher career level than the older faculty women.

IX.

WOMEN'S LIVES AND PUBLIC POLICY

TOWARD A NEW POLICY FOR THE FAMILY

Elizabeth Douvan

Clearly women carry the burden of flaws in our policies for the family. It is women--particularly Black women, divorced women, old women and single women raising children alone--on whom all the inequities and failures fall.

Flaws in Social Security and pension systems leave older women and displaced homemakers unsupported in their later years. Female-headed households make up the largest proportion of families below the poverty line. Our society has failed to provide adequate day care for thousands of children whose mothers must work in order to provide minimum support for their families. And we are unique among industrial societies in our neglect of this critical need.

Clearly something must be done to change this situation. How will we go about it? What are the strategies that can effect changes and humanize our world?

Janet Giele has proposed crossover as a mechanism.* She presents a subtle analysis of the gains made when sociologists distinguished sex roles by refined description of the activities which comprised them--the association of socio-emotional acts with the female role and task leadership with the male role--and the possibilities opened by this analysis for the reassignment of tasks, crossovers allowed when we think of roles in this way. We have seen evidence of such crossover as women have taken on more task leadership in the occupational world and as men have assumed greater responsibilities for the socio-emotional activities of child-raising.

Yet my own perusal of the data from large-scale studies of the population do not lead me to great optimism about the extensive growth of crossover or its promise to change our world and our values in any fundamental way. Women have moved into the occupational world in great numbers because that is where the rewards and values of the society are to be had. Our culture values money and power and these provide strong incentives for women to enter the labor force. But what comparable incentives do we offer men for participating more actively in the affairs of the household--the supportive activities of homemaking, the socio-emotional tasks of child-raising? None, I think, and the data reflect that fact. Even among the youngest cohorts of married couples, the working wife continues to provide virtually all of the homemaking and child care. By entering the labor force and assuming part of the material support for the family, she in essence simply adds this activity to her other major role. Her working may allow her husband to give up a second job and will in most cases permit her husband a little more leisure, but it only adds a labor force job to her continuing home responsibilities. Crossover in the case of the wife entering the labor force is strictly one way.

---

*See pp. 3-13

Clearly something must be done to get men to cross over into the socio-emotional realm. I am not sanguine that it will happen through choice and voluntary movement. Homemaking and childcare are not supported by incentives of money and power which would make them attractive and compelling choices.

I think we will have to think of mechanisms which are in some real sense more radical than voluntary crossover. We will need to change in fundamental ways our values and incentives and our concept of what constitutes a meaningful and reasonable structure for a career or work life.

I think such change can be effected, and I think the effort will be well worth it. We stand to gain enormous benefits from such change. If we can get men to share equally in the life-supporting and life-sustaining activities of the home, we will allow men and women an opportunity to collaborate in a crucial life stage around activities which focus both value and life meaning. We will thus allow the kind of exchange Carole Gilligan sees as holding promise of enlarging men's and women's conceptual systems by accomodating elements from the system characteristic of the other sex. Only through such exchange, she thinks, will women come to apprehend, appreciate, and understand the analytic, bounded, separating thought processes on which male moral concepts of rule, law, and justice are based. In such exchange, men will come to understand and incorporate elements of joining, sharing, responsibility and care on which women's moral concepts are based. The outcome of such exchange will at least be an enlargement of the conceptual tems of both men and women. I think it will include many other goods as well, including an important re-creation, enlargement and humanization of the perspective of male policy makers as they go about the process of formulating rules and laws that affect the lives and well-being of women, children and other disadvantaged groups.

---

*see pp. 17-31

How are we to get men into the home? Not, as I have said, through voluntary crossover. Margaret Mead said one time that raising the next generation, raising whole young people, is obviously the most important thing that any culture does. Now that is certainly obvious to *me* and it's probably obvious to you. It's also obvious to me that no experience in life compares in sheer power, beauty and meaning to the experience of child-raising, of encountering and encouraging large human spirit in miniature human beings. But I have discovered that this is *not* obvious to all people. In particular, when I have given talks to business men in the executive training program at our business school, I have found that it is very rarely obvious to these male leaders of our world. Clearly something is wrong and something needs to be done to insure that those who run our world have a chance to learn this truth and touch this reality. Without some sense of truth, without a realistic apprehension of reality, they cannot be expected to make decisions and judgements that are wise and free of distorted and false values.

A bouncy, brilliant male colleague of mine--a man whose fresh and frisky imagination will not quit--offered a solution to the imbalance in male and female roles in caring for dependents. He was alarmed at the thrust toward deinstitutionalization of mental patients and the handicapped. He saw the move (accurately, I think) as inevitably pushing the responsibility back onto the shoulders of women. And he had a solution: "We have to bring all the care of dependents into the market. When a baby is born, or an old person is sick and needs care, a certain market value must be associated with the care. If the parents or relatives want to assume childcare themselves, they will be paid the fair market value for that care. If they don't want to raise the child or take care of elderly parents themselves, they'll be heavily taxed and the job will be turned over to someone else who will be paid full market value for the work."

Now I oppose this homogenization of our world. I think we want to hold on to all the differentiation we can manage. I don't think we should debase human caring and creativity by reducing it all to market value, grading all complex and multifarious motivation to the single standard of the market, as though human beings were nothing more than cash registers tingling to the tune of tokens deposited. I think this is the quintessential male solution and we see where it has led in fields like daycare and nursing care for the elderly.

I would like to suggest a different approach--one which is more radical in the sense that it aims to change fundamental values and conceptions of life and work in our society, yet is more conservative in its preservation of important distinctions and its relatively limited intervention into people's lives and areas of choice.

I propose that all men and women be subject to a mandatory cutback in work upon the birth of a baby. According to this plan, we would legislate a change in the shape of a normal career line or work life, so that somewhere in the late twenties or early thirties, all men and women who choose to have children would shift to part-time work for a period of five or ten years while they engage in active parenting. I would legislate this bias toward active fatherhood because I do not think it will come about initially through choice. I want it built into our concept of a normal life course and a normal work pattern. Fathers could choose out of the system--just as doctors in England can choose out of the public health system--but by doing so they would lose the normal benefits and be penalized through tax programs.

I would finance the system--supplementing the income of young families with child allowances to bring family income to the level of the pay parents would receive for full-time work--through the Social Security system. And here we have an example of a variation on the crossover theme. We ordinarily associate transfers from Social Security with a particular stage of life and age--65--or with certain disabilities and death. I am asking that we cross over these transfers to a different life stage and associate them with a creative event, the birth of a child. The funds will supplement the income of young families while they preform crucial tasks for the community. While they are raising the next generation to the point when they are ready to enter school, the young parents will also be building civic life and community. They will run civic organizations like PTA, church groups, playgroups and nurseries, and they will have time and resources to put into being good neighbors. The rebuilding of civic spirit and neighborhoods emerges from every analysis of American society as a central and desperate need. My program would offer at least a partial solution, because it will put into the neighborhood a larger share of the energies of a group who have most to give and gain through the neighborhood. None of us ever has access to her neighbors in quite the intimate and easy way we did when our little children were in and out of each other's houses every day.

The effects of the program would be most profound and productive for men and for our culture's conception of a normal work life. A central aim is to normalize an entirely new way of conceiving the seasons of a man's life, male identity, and the proper place of occupational concerns in that life and identity. I hope that eventually our current concepts--which see a man's occupational life as all of his life--will come to be seen in the proper light as a grotesque distortion, a deviant and destructive pattern.

No human being should be only a role, no identity should be based in only one anchor. Life is long and to provide meaning for a whole life and integrity for a self throughout life one needs more than a single anchoring role. The women's movement has made this point successfully and compellingly for women. It is not enough for a woman to be only her reproductive role. She needs to anchor meaning and identity in both the reproductive and productive spheres of her society. A sturdy, well-defined, and satisfying sense of self develops at the intersections between roles. I come to know my essential self by observing those things about me which transcend roles, remain constant across roles. If I am only in a single role----like a child or a slave--then I have no means of distinguishing between those aspects of my behavior which stem from role demands and those which reflect my essential self.

Now we must help to make this same discovery--that multiple roles make a more solid anchor and richer ground for identity and meaning, and that they too will be more developed, stable, and articulated selves when they immerse themselves and invest in the reproductive work of the world as well as in the productive side of culture. And we must come to see anything less--the man, for example, who spends all his active years giving over 60 or 80 hours a week to the workplace and neglecting everything but his career--as a sad and deviant yielding of possibilities. Counter-culture males of the sixties invented the concept of the workaholic to describe their fathers' lives. I think they accurately conveyed the sense of this pattern as pathological.

I think our world stands to gain many stunning benefits by this conversion of men. In the first place, we would gain more humane and wise policy makers. Policy is likely to emanate from men for yet some time, since it will be a while before women move in large numbers into power positions in the world. How much safer our policies will be in the hands of men who have also rocked cradles. By relieving men of the need to be pioneers and innovators to exercise their right to share in homemaking and child-raising--by making this part of every normal man's experience--we will affect values and reassert the value of life, we will allow men to get back in touch with the natural rhythms of life which have been so obscured by industrialization, the domination of time and life by man-made, mechanical, artificial and arbitrary concepts.

In workshop presentations we have heard of the extraordinary stress experienced by mothers of preschool children and by middle-aged men. My policy proposal would offer relief to both of these groups. Young mothers engaged in the awesome task of cultivating the next generation would gain the reassuring collaboration and practical assistance of their partners during the years of intensive parenting. Middle-aged men would gain from a break in their life's occupation. Men suffering burn-out have been too long immersed in work and find themselves at 45 wondering for the first time if this is really what they meant to do with their lives. Surely they will benefit from a break in the system: their part-time engagement and child care activities will give them a double anchor for identity and the distance from work that will allow them to make more deliberate choices about work before they reach the point of no return and demoralization we call burn-out.

Anyone who has dealt with women returning to school in midlife will tell you of the marvels of motivation these women present, their energy and vitality. Their omnivorous appetite for work and knowledge seems to have been fed and nurtured by their years of active parenting, so that when they set out on their new quest for identity, it is with a zest and brilliance only rarely encountered in the eighteen-year-old student. With a sense of competence established in family roles, they engage the work of scholarship, the life of the mind uncluttered by many of the conflicts and identity struggles which distract younger students. They act as though the world had been invented anew for them to discover.

Surely men at midlife would gain from adopting the pattern of life these women have constructed. The double-anchored identity, the breathing room in career ties and concepts, the deeper apprehension of life's spring and creativity, the securing of competence in another sphere, and the balance of roles would surely release energy and free men in mid-life from a sense of futility, of opportunities lost. I think it might not only eliminate burnout in mid-career but also make possible postponement of retirement. Lillian Rubin found a critical asynchrony in many of her midlife couples: the man eagerly wanting to retire from active work just when his wife was hitting her stride in her newly-won career. The gains in men's productivity that could be realized by decreasing burn-out and by extending active work engagement easily replace the contribution skimmed off by cutting back their labor force participation during the active parenting years.

We need above all to change our concept of a normal career line. Young men (and women) who might like to spend five or ten years sharing child care and part-time work are nervous about doing so lest their peers move ahead of them at work or in the competition for rewards and recognition. We must somehow disrupt the unproductive tunnel vision that equates time put in with success, contribution, or creativity.

When graduate students say that they can't visit their parents or take a holiday during the academic vacation because they are working on their dissertations, we detect an error of construction in the claim. The student has reduced all time to equivalence and is saying in essence, "I wrote six pages of the dissertation in the last ten days. If I stay here--give up my holiday--I'll write six more pages." Teachers and advisers know that this is not necessarily true, that all time is not equivalent. We urge students to allow for air, variety, balance and punctuation in their lives. It seems to me that we must now restructure and humanize our concept of work life to accomodate these same crucial assets. Men will benefit, women will benefit, and, most of all, children will develop in a world enriched and humanized.

THE AMERICAN HOMEMAKER: POLICY PROPOSALS

Nancy R. Hauserman

This presentation will focus upon the problem of immediate protection of the homemaker* from certain economic disruptions. In doing so, it suggests policies which would protect the homemaker by changing public and private insurance programs, by increasing the homemaker's asset base, and by improving her income-creating potential. The policies suggested vary in their ease of implementation and in their scope. Identification and enumeration of a program to achieve protection is a beginning. Further analysis of these alternatives will provide appropriate information to convert this enumeration to a program with priorities for action.

The Problem. The homemaker produces goods and services for in-home consumption. Because this output is never sold in a market, no exchange price is established. In the absence of any market transaction, no revenues are generated, no explicit income is paid to her, and she acquires no assets. Without clearly established prices, society has no standard measure of value for her work and has discounted the homemaking effort. The absence of information about a price, however, is not the same as a price of zero, nor does it imply that no valuable production takes place. Unfortunately, many policies mistakenly equate absence of information with lack of value, and so the homemaker has become an invisible, uncounted, and unrewarded part of the production system.

The following policy program is offered for redress of the most immediate disruptions facing today's homemakers. In selecting among possibilities, six criteria have been used. The policies should:

---

*The term "homemaker" in this paper refers to female homemaker only. The author recognizes that the homemaker may be male, but a paucity of data makes it difficult to deal with their concerns at this time.

1. Focus on recognition of the value of non-market services;
2. Improve the homemaker's well-being;
3. Provide the homemaker with options and information;
4. Capture, whenever possible, current trends toward equity with which the general public is familiar and supportive;
5. Minimize transfers in the grants economy and transfers of funds over time; and
6. The policies should not require massive restructuring of social, political, or economic institutions which are unlikely.

The suggestions are organized into five major areas: Social Security, pension plans, life and disability insurance, dissolution of marriage legislation, and property ownership. For each of these five areas, identification of the problem is followed by policy suggestions.

Social Security. A homemaker's eligibility for Social Security benefits depends upon the eligibility of her spouse. In the absence of earned income, the Social Security program does not recognize homemakers as eligible participants. Of the Social Security benefits--retirement, survivors, disability, and health--only survivors' benefits apply directly to the homemaker. Two suggestions are offered:

1. Homemakers should participate in the Social Security System with specific credit for service as a homemaker; and
2. The "black-out period" between Social Security survivors' benefits and retirement benefits should be eliminated.

Pension Plans. In spite of ERISA and the consequent improvements in many pension plans, both the homemaker who works part-time and the widow are frequently denied pension benefits in their own or on their husbands' behalf. The requirements of ERISA are relatively lenient in several important areas. Homemakers may receive no pension credits for part-time work, and a widow may find that her husband's pension plan provides no survivors' benefits when his death occurs before he reaches early retirement age. In addition, current laws do not allow a homemaker to set up an individual pension (an IRA) based on her work as a homemaker, except on a very limited basis.

Five policy suggestions follow:

1. Wherever vesting requirements are met in a qualified pension plan, the vested benefits should include a survivor's benefit;
2. More information should be given with regard to the joint-and-survivor annuity option in pension plans and to the merits of possible alternatives;

3. Vesting standards and standared relating to breaks in service should be revised to benefit homemakers who work part-time;
4. Homemakers should be able to establish IRA's based on their service homemakers; and
5. Homemakers should be allowed "retroactive portability" on non-vested pension credits.

Life and Disability Insurance. The life insurance industry has not considered the homemaker to be a viable market for individual life and disability insurance. At the present time most of her coverage is tied to her spouse's employment, through Social Security, his group life insurance, or riders on his individual life policies. In this area, three policy suggestions are proffered:

1. The private insurance industry should acknowledge the existence of a replacement value for homemakers' services;
2. The private insurance industry should do a better job of explaining its products and their appropriate uses; and
3. The private insurance industry should resolve some rating problems involving women.

Dissolution of Marriage (Divorce). Upon dissolution of marriage the homemaker, especially the full-time homemaker, has several immediate needs. She may require some form of financial support and, if children are involved and she is the custodial parent, she may need child support contribution. To become economically independent, she may need skills training to enter the job market and monetary support during this training period. Nine policy proposals follow:

1. The fault concept should not affect the awarding of temporary support, maintenance or alimony, or property distribution;
2. The federal parent locater service should be improved to speed location of the absent parent, and to speed collection of support;
3. Legislation should provide for the use of interstate depositions or bifurcated hearings to alleviate the costs of travel for litigation;
4. It is imperative that courts give higher priority to child support cases and that legislatures consider setting up an alternative court to hear such matters;
5. The basis of property distribution upon dissolution of marriage should explicitly include the homemaker's contribution as a factor, and such contribution should be measured in a consistent fashion;
6. Dissolution legislation should include temporary monetary awards to allow the homemaker to seek employment training and provide for her general welfare while she receives such training;
7. An increased number of Displaced Homemaker Centers should be funded to assist greater numbers of homemakers;
8. Homemaker Advocates should be available on a state and

county basis. The advocate program could provide a clearing house of grants available for homemakers wishing to begin work outside the home, to begin or return to school, homemakers wishing to find adequate child care, and referral to counselors, psychologists and attorneys when appropriate;

9. Programs to ease the transition of the homemaker into the marketplace can be created, enlarged and widely disseminated.

Determination of Property Ownership. It is necessary to establish property ownership in several instances. Two of these instances, dissolution and death, present problems which are peculiar to the person who works inside the home. The I.R.S. and the courts do not recognize nonmonetary contribution as a valid claim to property rights. Traditionally, to avoid an assumption that jointly held property was owned entirely by the first spouse to die, the surviving spouse has had to prove that he or she has contributed monetary income for the purchase or improvement of the estate. If the survivor cannot prove monetary contribution, the value of the entire jointly-held property is assigned to the deceased's estate. In estate tax cases, such failure or recognition of the homemaker's implicit income stream is true even if the claimant's name appears on the title to the property. Two policies are suggested to protect the homemaker in this instance:

1. Recognition of the homemaker's contribution should be implemented by the Internal Revenue Service in determining contribution towards ownership for estate tax purposes; and
2. Legislation should be enacted which specifically directs courts to consider other evidence of ownership or contribution to ownership when property is held only in the name of one spouse.

Conclusion. This presentation has concentrated on suggestions which offer immediate remedy for some of the economic injustices faced by today's homemakers. Today, most homemakers are unaware of the implicit income stream they create and the net income foregone to the family if they stay home; homemakers do not have a clear idea of their replacement cost as homemakers or of their opportunity costs. Without such information, an efficient decision regarding the appropriate allocation of time between employment, homemaking, and leisure is impossible, As a long-range goal, homemakers ought to have both the information and realistic options to make informed choices between work outside the home and work within the home--to "cross over." To achieve this goal, society will have to provide incentives and perhaps rewards to women to enter the marketplace. Equally important will be development and dissemination of information about the costs of working and staying home. Rational choice presumes that women know the price of their time at work and at home. With the freedom to choose production in the home or outside or both, and with clear information on the relative rate of return of each, the homemaker will, in the long run, be able to achieve equity.

Bibliography

Books

Burns, Scott. *Home, Inc.: American Household.* New York: Doubleday, 1975.

DeCrow, Karen. *Sexist Justice.* New York: Vintage Books, 1975.

Howe, Louise K. *Pink Collar Workers: Inside the World of Women's Work.* New York: G. P. Putman's Sons, 1977.

Kreps, Juanita. *Sex in the Marketplace: American Women at Work.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971.

Walker, Kathryn and Woods, Margaret. *Time Use: A Measure of Household Production of Family Goods and Services.* Washington, D.C.: AHEA, 1976.

Government Publications

Brody, W. H. *Economic Value of a Housewife.* Washington, D.C.: Office of Research and Statistics, Social Security Administration, 1975.

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. *Statistical Abstract of the U.S., 1976.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977.

U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review.*

U.S. Employment Service, *Dictionary of Occupational Titles*, 1965. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965.

Monographs

Morgan, James N., Sirageldin, Ismail and Baerwoldt, Nancy. *Productive Americans: A Study of How Individuals Contribute to Economic Progress*. Survey Research Center Monograph 43. Ann Arbor, Mi.: University of Michigan Institute for Social Research, 1966.

Cases

Rhodes vs. Rhodes 370 P.2d 902 (Alaska 1962); *Dupont vs. Dupont*, 98 A.2d 493 (Del. 1953); *Campbell vs. Campbell* 353 A.2d 276 (D.C. App. 1976). In re Marriage of Ralston, 242 NW2d 1969 (Ia. 1976); *McClaren vs. McClaren*, 214 Kan. 217, 519 P.2d 720 (1974); *Ballenbach vs. Ballenbach*, 285 Minn. 418, 175 NW2d 148 (1970); *Jenkins vs. Jenkins*, 278 So.2d 446 (Miss. 1973); *Kassenbaum vs. Kassenbaum*, 178 Neb. 812, 135 NW2d 704 (1965); *Painter vs. Painter*, 118 N. J. Super. 332, 287 A.2d 467, remanded 65 N.J. 196, 320 A.2d 484 (1974); *Lacey vs. Lacey*, 45 Wis. 2d 378, 173 N.W. 2d 142; later app. 61 Wis. 2d 604, 213 NW2d 80 (1970).

Legislative Actions

Uniform Marriage and Divorce Act (UMDA) Section 307 on Disposition of Property.

Articles

Adler, Hans J. and Hawrlyshwn, Oli. "Estimates of the Value of Household Work." *The Review of Income and Wealth.* Series 24, No. 4, December, 1978.

De Serpa, Allen C. "A Theory of the Economics of Time." *Economic Journal*, December, 1971, pp. 828-876.

Fethke, Carol and Hauserman, Nancy. "The Invisible Occupation." *Journal of Home Economics*, Spring, 1979.

Gauger, William. "Household Work: Can We Add It to the GNP?" *Journal of Home Economics*, October, 1973, pp. 12-15.

Hausermen, Nancy and Fethke, Carol. "Valuation of Homemaker's Services." *Trial Lawyer's Guide*, Vol. 22, No. 3, Fall, 1978.

Hawrylshyn, Oli. "The Value of Household Services: A Survey of Empirical Estimates." *Review of Income and Wealth*, September, 1976, pp. 101-131.

Hawrylshyn, Oli. "Towards o Definition of Non-Market Activities." *Review of Income and Wealth*, March, 1977.

Nelson, Helen Y. "The Unpriced Services of the Unpaid Homemaker." *American Vocational Journal*, October, 1977, pp. 36038.

Vanek, Joan. "Time Spent in Housework." *Scientific American*, November, 1966, pp. 116-120.

Weinrobe, Maurice, "Household Production and National Production:

An Improvement of the Record." *Review of Income and Wealth*, March, 1974, pp. 89-102.

Papers

Walker, Kathryn and Sanik, Margaret M. "The Potential for Measurement of Nonmarket Household Production with Time-Use Data." Presented at the International Sociological Association, Ninth World Congress of Sociology, Uppala, Sweden, August, 1978.

Others

"What's A Wife Worth?" Publication of Chase Manhattan Bank, 1972.

LIVING TOO LONG, DYING TOO YOUNG, AND DISABILITY FOR THE HOMEMAKER

Carol Carde Oliven Fethke

Women who have spent the majority of their adult years as full-time homemakers are gradually learning that these efforts have not provided them with an economic base. In the past the failure of homemaking to create such a base was not considered a major social problem because legal institutions supported a system of economic security provided by the family. More recently, however, the ability of the family to protect the homemaker has declined as changing socio-demographic patterns have created substantial periods of a woman's life when she is head of her own household.

This paper begins with an assessment of the current situation of homemakers and recounts the familiar statistics on the decline of the family as a source of protection to the wife/homemaker. The body of the paper is concerned with a systematic study of three common events facing adults: dying too young, living too long, and disability. In each case, the risk is defined, the probability of the event occurring is estimated, and the size of the potential financial loss is projected. In some cases data are not available to make these estimates, and the discussion focuses on the kind of information that it will be necessary to acquire. Finally, for each of the three events, the paper presents a brief review of the availability of either public or private insurance to the homemaker/wife. The paper concludes with a call for the development of a whole range of new policy instruments for the woman's self protection.

Historically, the cornerstone of the homemaker's economic protection has been the English Common Law view of marriage, which declared that in a marriage a male and female become one person--the male. To specify the requirements of what a man had to provide himself has been deemed by the law to be an unnecessary invasion of privacy within the unit of marriage, and so has been carefully avoided. Presumably the male would care for himself and thereby his wife. Freed, if you will, from the responsibility of an independent identity, the homemaker/wife was also relieved of economic responsibility--but not of work.

Invisible in the Economy. A significant distinction exists between a woman's work in the home and in the labor force. As an employee, she is paid a money wage for her effort; as a homemaker she is not. The key to understanding this inconsistency in the two settings is that the homemaker's work never enters the marketplace; her goods and services are both produced and consumed within the same sphere. Without passing through the market, no exchange price is established; without the convenience of a market price, society is left to describe the effort as invaluable--or as value-less. Her work today is as invisible in the economic system as she has always been unseen in the traditional legal view of marriage.[1]

More importantly for this discussion, the absence of a clear exchange means that the goods and services pass from production to consumption without generating a money-income stream for the homemaker's effort. As a result she receives no credit for an income and accumulates no asset base in her own name. Moreover, she is systematically excluded from purchasing insurance to protect herself from losses because access to insurance protection for many types of coverage is fundamentally tied to the replacement of a money income flow.

The fact that the family is no longer providing adequate economic security for women, while an important socio-economic trend, would not be striking if women were able to provide an adequate and immediate economic base for themselves. Indeed, a large measure of research has been conducted by sociologists, economists and many others in the last decade to answer the question of whether women have had and can now have the opportunity to be economically viable selves. Much of the policy direction indicated by this analysis points to easing the transition of the woman from the home to her place of equal opportunity in the market. Thus, many have encouraged the availability of high-quality day care, the re-writing of elementary school texts, programs to reduce math anxiety, admission of women to apprenticeship programs in the crafts, flextime, and equal pay for equal work.[2]

All of these efforts are admirable, but they are also strikingly one-sided. Their objective is to get the woman out of the house and able to care for herself. But replacement of the family's comprehensive economic protection means more. A necessary and complementary set of policies must be made available as long as women remain the primary adults responsible for child care and home production. These policies focus on immediate economic protection for the homemaker from unforeseeable risks. To understand how this protection might be achieved for the homemaker, it is appropriate to review how the insurance concept works.

Homemakers and Insurance. Everyone faces risks everyday. Most of these daily hazards represent small losses and are not threatening enough to cause us to change our behavior. In deciding whether to insure against any risk, each person has to consider both the probability that the event may occur, and the size of the likely loss. If either is very large, most people will seek to protect themselves. The basic principle underlying most insurance is the concept that an individual can protect himself or herself by pooling a small payment with others who also wish to be protected. Then, if the unfortunate event occurs to one or more members of the insured pool, the loss is compensated by the accumulated premiums of all members. To make such an arrangement financially viable, it is important that the probability of the loss be relatively small for each individual, that the loss be large financially, that each individual be unable to identify the possibility that the event will occur to him or her, that individuals be unable to manipulate the probability of the event by their own actions, and finally that, for a large enough group of persons of similar characteristics, the probability that the event will occur can be determined, even though no one is able to say to which specific person it will happen.

Most adults have three sources from which they can seek protection from economic loss: private insurance sources, public insurance programs or self-insurance through the family. Many of today's homemakers do not have access to the traditional family economic protection, because changing socio-demographic patterns have created three periods in women's lives during which they may well be on their own. These periods are: immediately after leaving school and before marriage; in mid-life as a result of dissolution or early death of their spouse; and at the end of their lives. In 1977 over one-third of all adult women were single, divorced or widowed.

If homemakers lose their family protection, they are caught in a very vulnerable and unprotected position. Both public and private insurance instruments have emphasized financial compensation for the loss. For this reason, losses have been measured either as income lost or as specific expenses related to the occurence of the event.

Without the family protection and without explicit money income flows, these women have no access either to the family or to the public or private-sector insurance instruments.

To illustrate the dimensions of the homemaker's problem, three events which are potentially insurable will be discussed. These three are: dying too young, living too long, and disability.

The specific risk in dying too young is that either the husband or the wife will leave the family with insufficient resources to replace the services and/or income that each is currently providing. A historical perspective suggests that the probability of a female's dying at any given age has dropped as a result of better health conditions--particularly those associated with childbirth. A comparison of death rates in 1920 and 1975, for example, shows that the age-adjusted female death rate has dropped from 13.8 deaths per 1,000 women to 4.7. The statistics for men indicate that their death rate has dropped from 14.7 in 1920, to 8.5 deaths per 1,000 men in 1975.[3]

While the probability of this event has fallen, the size of the loss has increased. Economists measure this loss as the present value of the foregone income stream. In current dollars the implicit value of the homemaker's production has risen in line with market wages in those service sectors which represent parallels with her in-home activities. Calculations of the value of this production at the micro-level have been done by many.[4] Walker and Sanik suggest that the homemaker has not changed the hours of her work over the years, but has gradually shifted her activities.[5] Both the shift in activities and the increasing market wages have caused the dollar value of her lost services to increase.

In the past the homemaker's need to protect her family from the risk of her dying too young was minimal. One hundred years ago, if the wife died and the family had children, it was understood by society that the husband had an obligation to find a woman to marry so that his children would be cared for. The dead wife's services were replaced, not with the present value of a future income stream, but with a person. No one suggested that the wife had a responsibility to provide her family against such an event as her own death. In contrast, if the family had children and the husband died, it was understood by all that the husband had a moral obligation to try to replace himself with a financial reserve.

Insurance for dying too young is life insurance. Statistics with respect to purchases of life insurance by homemakers are not readily available. Some observations can, however, be made. Life insurance coverage for women is far smaller than that for men, whether the coverage is measured in terms of percent of population insured or the dollar value of policies in force. For example, the American Council of Life Insurance reported that in 1976 74 percent of adult women had some form of life insurance while 86 percent of adult men were so covered,[6] but this statistic does not disclose what type or level of coverage is being counted. A more revealing statistic is the fact that 78 percent of the ordinary life insurance coverage was written in 1976 on adult males while only 17 percent of the total amount was written to cover adult females.[7]

In the past the insurance industry has hesitated to write policies for homemakers. Many companies encourage families to take out only a small amount of coverage for the homemaker's burial expenses as a rider to the policy of the male head-of-house. Some companies, while writing separate coverage for the homemaker, will limit the amount of coverage she can buy, or will restrict access to the waiver-of-premium option to those proving "definite need exists."

Finally, many insurance companies, while acknowledging that women have longer life expectancies than men of the same age, do not usually give them full credit for this longer life expectancy when determining life insurance premiums. For example, a typical pattern is to charge a woman of 40 and a man of 43 the same premium rate per $1000 of life insurance coverage even though at age 30 she is expected to outlive men of that age by 6 years.[8]

Proposals to improve the homemaker's ability to protect her family from the risk of dying too young include direct recognition by her family, the legal system and the insurance industry of the value of her in-home production: that is, direct recognition of the fact that she does generate family income--albeit an implicit income stream. Greater availability of life insurance and access to the survivor's benefit for her family under the Social Security system are two examples of policies that depend upon this recognition.[9]

New policies which might improve the homemaker's protection against her spouse dying too young also are tied to recognition of the homemaker's economic contribution to her family. In particular, this recognition would require changes in estate-tax laws to count her implicit income as a contribution to the family asset base.[10]

Living too Long. The second event from which the homemaker may need protection is that of dying too old. The risk here is that she will outlive the family's income and asset base and end up with insufficient economic resources for her old age: in short, the risk is that she will live too long.

A brief look at historical trends verifies that women live longer than in the past, that they outlive their spouses, and that they also outlive their financial base. Moreover, the likelihood of all of these events is increasing. Statistics on the life expectancy of women are familiar and will not be discussed here. The years by which a 60-year-old woman tends to outlive a comparably aged man have grown from 10 months at the turn of the century, to 4.8 years in 1970. Since men have always been older, on average, than their wives, most women can expect to outlive their spouses.[11]

Most homemakers will not only be alone, but will also face problems of economic survival. Data from the 1979 HEW study of *Social Security and the Changing Roles of Men and Women* indicate that 38 percent of all unmarried women over 65 have incomes below the poverty level. As a group older unmarried women represent 72 percent of all older poor persons, and 59 percent of all older women below the poverty level are widows who have apparently not been protected by themselves or their families from this risk of living too long.[12]

In the past the probability of outliving the family's asset base was not a particularly frightening prospect for at least three reasons. First, women on the average did not outlive their spouses by too many years. Second, if a woman's spouse died and she did outlive her lifetime accumulation of family assets, her children, particularly her sons, were expected by society to care for her. In many parts of the world this is still true. Finally, if her spouse did die early, or if she lived unusually long, there was always the possibility that she could reduce her standard of living and, by judicious spending, extend the length of time the family's assets would last.

Today the option of trying to stretch assets may be more difficult as the inflation rate in the past 12 years has averaged 6.82 percent per year and in 1979 it will clear 12 percent. For the family over 65 who probably did most of their financial planning in an environment of 3 to 7 percent of return to capital and 2 to 5 percent long-term inflation rates, the recent rapid increases in prices have been extremely stressing.

Protection from the risk of living too long is an annuity contract under which you make one or more payments to a company and they, in return, contract with you to make payments back on a regular (usually) monthly basis for a specified time period. Ten-year certain, life income, or payments until you or your spouse both die, are examples of the length of the income-payment periods. In concept annuities to protect against living too long may be purchased in a variety of forms.

In the private sector insurance companies sell annuities to individuals. In addition, most of these companies have provisions in their ordinary life insurance policies for both the cash surrender value or the death benefit of an individual's policy to be convertible to an annuity as a settlement option. The majority of annuity policyholders are male.

The problems associated with the industry's bias in assumed expected lifetimes of females cannot be ignored at this point. When buying an annuity, the insurance industry may assume that the woman will live six years longer than a male of the same age and therefore want a larger premium per $100 of monthly annuity. At the same time, many companies using this 6-year assumption may only allow her a 3-year advantage in the purchase of a life insurance policy when calculating premiums. In short, individual annuity policies, if available to the homemaker, are expensive and biased.

A second source of annuity-type contracts are public or private pension programs.[13] Private pension programs include employer-administrated programs, and self-administered plans such as Keogh or Individual Retirement Account Programs (IRA's). In addition there are federally-administered pension programs including: the Military Retirement System, Railroad Retirement, the U.S. Civil Service Retirement System, the Tennessee Valley, the Foreign Service, and the Federal Reserve Retirement Systems. There are also multiple retirement programs for state and local employees. Finally, there is of course, the Old Age, Survivors and Disability Insurance Program (OASDI) more commonly known as Social Security.

Inequities in Pension Programs. Whatever the funding regulations or restrictions, the key function of all of these annuity-like programs is to replace income upon retirement and therefore to help protect the insured individual form the risk of outliving their economic base. Unfortunately for the homemaker, few of these programs are available to her directly because the industry regards her as having no direct income flow to replace.

An excellent example of the absurdity of the limited coverage available to the homemaker are the rules associated with individual retirement accounts (IRA's). For example, if an income earner(e.g., a husband) qualifies, he can establish an IRA in his own name and put aside up to $1500 per year into this IRA. If this husband does establish an IRA and has a homemaker-wife, he has the option of including her in the IRA. In this case, their combined contribution is limited to $1750. This contribution can be split between the husband and wife in any proportion.[14] Two typical allocations are a 50/50 split ($875 in his name, $875 in hers) or $1500 to him and $250 to her. Other allocations, are of course available.

The homemaker/wife's position within the Social Security system is completely tied to the eligibility of her spouse. In the absence of earned income, the Social Security program does not recognize the homemaker as an eligible participant. Of the Social Security benefits--retirement, survivors', disability, and health, the homemaker is involved only as a recipient of the survivors' benefits and of Medicare. Even the survivors' benefit may have a hole in its coverage known as the "blackout period" (also the "widow's gap) when survivors' benefits cease upon the attainment of age 18 of the youngest dependent child. After the cessation of benefits, the widow must wait until at least age 60 to collect retirement benefits--again from her husband's account. Currently a divorced homemaker can receive only retirement benefits and those only if she was married for at least 10 years to a worker who is eligible and has filed for benefits, and if she does not remarry before age 60. The inequity and inequality of the woman's position within the Social Security System is under study for possible reform.[15]

A complete discussion of the problems with respect to annuity-type programs for homemakers cannot be limited to the narrow availability of the protection. Other problems in this area which need to be at least mentioned here include the current tax policies on benefits received, the rules on survivors' option and the rates at which the benefits are calculated, the tremendous biases against vesting of pensions for women who enter, leave, and possible re-enter the work force throughout their earning lifetime, and the incredible absence of information for widows with respect to the key economic choices they will have to make.[16]

The message is again clear: with respect to living too long, the homemaker faces an increased exposure to the risk, the size of the potential monetary loss is large, the traditional family protection mechanism is weakening, and yet she is not yet able to purchase protection from public or private sources.

No protection for Disability. A final fortuitous event that can be discussed is that of disability. Disability involves the risk of not being able to work and thereby of losing one's income through accident or illness. Sources of protection for disability include group coverage at one's place of employment, individual insurance policies and Social Security disability programs. None of these are accessible to the homemaker because she does not have a measurable income flow which can be identified as lost.

It is commonly recognized that most accidents occur in the home. In fact accidents that took place in the home accounted for over 92 million days of disability due to injury, according to the National Center for Health Statistics Health Interview Survey.[17] In one year, over 12 million females were injured in the home.

Available data indicate that disabled women were dependent for 65 percent of their money income upon their spouses, 17 percent from public income maintenance, and only 7 percent from their own earnings. Over 91 percent of disabled women have no Social Security disability coverage. In contrast, severely disabled noninstitutionalized males received 33 percent of their income from public income maintenance programs, including Social Security disability and Veteran's benefits, 25 percent from their own earnings, and only 24 percent from their spouses' earnings.[18]

The insurance industry is reticent to sell individual policies to the homemaker because of their concern over the problem of moral hazard. Recall that one of the requirements of an insurable event is that the insured not be able to influence or affect the likelihood that the event will happen to the specific individual. In the case of the homemaker the industry agrees that 1) the homemaking tasks are so diverse and varied that it is difficult to develop a clear definition of how injured or ill a person would have to be to be classified as unable to perform homemaking work,i.e., be a disabled homemaker;2) that homemakers can therefore more easily "fake" disability; 3) that they can influence the probability of the disability occuring. In these cases, the problem of moral hazard is too large to warrant insurance; therefore only a few companies are willing even to consider coverage and the premiums are very high. Once again the homemaker's dilemma is clear: the risk exists, the family no longer provides adequate protection, and the homemaker is unable to purchase protection even if she desires it.

In summary, full-time homemakers are exposed every day to a wide variety of hazards, yet access to insurance protection is not available to them because they lack the money income. If the economic protection of the family continues to shrink and if the probabilities of the risks discussed and the size of the losses continue to increase, then homemakers face a lifetime with little opportunity for protection. To get protection in the future, they will need access to instruments now only available to those with explicit income stream, or they will need the development of new policy tools designed especially for them.

NOTES

1. See for example, K. A. Clarke and A. I. Ogus, "What is a Wife Worth?" *British Journal of Law and Society*, 1 (1978), pp. 1-26, and Oli Hawrylyshyn, "The Value of Household Services: A Survey of Empirical Estimates," *The Review of Income and Wealth*, 22 (1976), pp. 101-131.

2. See for example, National Commission on Manpower Policy, *Women's Changing Roles at Home and On the Job* (Department of Labor, Special Report No. 26, September 1978); (and Jane Roberts Chapman and Margaret Gates, *Women Into Wives* Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1977).

3. American Council of Life Insurance, *Life Insurance Fact Book '77* (Washington, D.C.: American Council of Life Insurance, 1977), p. 34.

4. Examples of this valuation include James N. Morgan, Ismail Sirogelden and Nancy Baerwoldt, *Productive Americans: A Study of How Individuals Contribute to Economic Progress* (Survey Research Center Monograph 43, Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan , 1966), and Hans J. Adler and Oli Hawrylyshyn, "Estimates of the Value of Household Work: Canada, 1961 and 1971," *The Review of Income and Wealth*, 24 (1978), pp. 335-355, and Nancy R. Hauserman and Carol Fethke, "Valuation of a Homemaker's Services," *The Trial Lawyer's Guide*, 22 (1978), pp. 249-266.

5. Kathryn E. Waler and Margaret M. Sanik, "The Potential for Measurement of Nonmarket Household Production with Time-Use Data," (Paper presented at the International Sociological Association, Ninth World Congress of Sociology, Upsala, Sweden, August, 1978).

6. *Life Insurance Fact Book, '77*, p. 96.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

8. Herbert S. Denenberg, *Discrimination in the Insurance Marketplace*

and in the Insurance Business--With Primary Emphasis on Life, Health, Disability and Pensions (Overview report prepared for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, April 24, 1978), p. 18.

9. See for example, Carol Fethke and Nancy Hauserman, "Homemaking: The Invisible Occupation," *Journal of Home Economics,* 71:2 (Summer 1979), pp. 20-23.

10. *Ibid.*

11. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the U.S. 1976.* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977), pp. 60-61.

12. U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Social Security and the Changing Roles of Men and Women* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, February 1979), p. 170.

13. U.S. Congress, House Select Committee on Aging, Subcommittee on Retirement Income and Employment, *Pension Problems of Older Women* Hearing, 94th Congress, 1st Sess., October 21, 1975 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1975).

14. U.S. Congress, House Committee on Ways and Means, Subcommittee on Oversight, *Individual Retirement Accounts and IRS Plan Termination Survey Hearings,* 95th Congress, 2nd Sess., February 16 and 24, 1978. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1978), p. 45.

15. There are a number of excellent studies of the Social Security system and its treatment of women. See for example Marilyn R. Flowers, *Women and Social Security: An Institutional Dilemma* (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1977) and Nancy M. Gordon, "The Treatment of Women Under Social Security," (background paper prepared for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, April 25, 1978). See also *Social Security and the Changing Roles of Men and Women.*

16. Lucy B. Mallan, "Women's Worklives and Future Social Security Benefits," *Social Security Bulletin* (U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare), 39 (1976), pp. 3-13.

17. National Center for Health Statistics, *Episodes of Persons Injured,* Advanced Data of Vital Health Statistics, No. 18, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978), pp. 3-18.

18. U. S. Department of Commerce, *Social Indicators* (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Governnment Printing Office, 1974), p. 135.

Bibliography

Adler, Hans J. and Oli Hawrylyshyn. "Estimates of the Value of Household Work: Canada, 1961 and 1971." *The Review of Income and Wealth* 24 (1978), pp. 335-355.

American Council of Life Insurance. *Life Insurance Fact Book '77.* Washington, D.C.: American Council of Life Insurance, 1977.

Chapman, Jane Roberts and Margaret Gates. *Women Into Wives.* Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1977.

Clarke, K. A. and A. I. Ogus. "What is a Wife Worth?" *British Journal of Law and Society* 1 (1978), pp. 1-26.

Denenberg, Herbert S. *Discrimination in the Insurance Marketplace and in the Insurance Business--With Primary Emphasis on Life, Health, Disability and Pensions.* Overview report prepared for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, April 24, 1978.

Fethke, Carol and Nancy Hauserman. "Homemaking: The Invisible Occupation" *Journal of Home Economics* 71:2 (Summer 1979), pp. 20-23.

Flowers, Marilyn R. *Women and Social Security: An Institutional Dilemma.* Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1977.

Gordon, Nancy M. "The Treatment of Women under Social Security." Background paper prepared for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, April 25, 1978.

Hauserman, Nancy R. and Carol Fethke. "Valuation of a Homemaker's Services." *The Trial Lawyer's Guide* 22 (1978), pp. 249-266.

Hawrylyshyn, Oli. "The Value of Household Services: A Survey of Empirical Estimates" *The Review of Income and Wealth* 22 (1976), pp. 101-131.

Mallan, Lucy B. "Women's Worklives and Future Social Security Benefits" *Social Security Bulletin.* U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare 39 (1976), pp. 3-13.

Morgan, James N., Ismail Sirogelden and Nancy Baerwoldt. *Productive Americans: A Study of How Individuals Contribute to Economic Progress.* Survey Research Center Monograph 43, Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1966.

National Commission on Manpower Policy. *Women's Changing Roles at Home and On the Job.* Department of Labor, Special Report No. 26, September 1978.

National Center for Health Statistics. *Episodes of Persons Injured.* Advanced Data of Vital Health Statistics, No. 18. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978.

U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of Census. *Statistical Abstract of the U.S. 1976.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977.

U.S. Department of Commerce. *Social Indicators.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974.

U.S. Congress, House Select Committee on Aging, Subcommittee on Retirement Income and Employment, *Pension Problems of Older Women.* Hearing, 94th Congress, 1st Sess., October 21, 1975. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975.

U.S. Congress, House Committee on Ways and Means, Subcommittee on Oversight. *Individual Retirement Accounts and IRS Plan Termination Survey.* Hearings, 95th Congress, 2nd Sess., February 16 and 24, 1978, Serial 95-97. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1978.

U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. *Social Security and the Changing Roles of Men and Women.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, February 1979.

Walker, Kathryn E. and Margaret M. Sanik. *The Potential for Measurement of Nonmarket Household Production with Time-Use Data.* Paper presented at the International Sociological Association, Ninth World Congress of Sociology, Upsala, Sweden, August, 1978.

REPRESENTING THE 80 PERCENT:

NEEDS OF THE PINK AND BLUE COLLAR WOMAN WORKER

Sandra Porter

The National Commission on Working Women was formed in 1977 through a grant from the National Institute of Education (HEW) under the auspices of the National Manpower Institute/Center for Women and Work. It was created to challenge the neglect and isolation of women workers in sales, service, clerical, factory and plant jobs who represent 80 percent of the female work force.

The Commission is made up of 27 women and men from diverse segments of society--from corporations, from Congress, from organized labor, from educational institutions, the media and the grassroots. This configuration is based on a belief in a collaborative process for problem solving and for stimulating social change.

NCWW views its mandate as multi-dimensional. It serves as a resource for working women, as a communications tool to raise public awareness around prime concerns of women in the 80 percent, as a link between component groups concentrating on women and work, as a project designer and implementer, and as a catalyst for others for whom these issues are relevant.

During the first two years of activity NCWW has accomplished a number of tasks central to its primary objective of raising the status of pink and blue collar women workers in low-paying occupations. Through an extensive public awareness campaign NCWW has worked to present the 80 percent as a visible and valuable constituency. Through sponsorship of six Regional Dialogues on Working Women, grassroots women have had the opportunity to voice their concerns and problems to those in a position to remedy them: to employers, union leaders, educators, representatives of government and members of the communications industry.

Through NCWW's National Survey on Working Women*, 150,000 responses were tabulated and revealed useful data which provide the basis for an extensive policy research agenda, oriented toward improving educational and occupational opportunities for these women. Here are some of the survey findings:

- —60 percent of all clerical workers feel they are in dead-end jobs;
- —55 percent of women in the 80 percent report that their jobs do not pay enough;
- —53 percent of women report they have no time for leisure;
- —46 percent of women noted that they felt the burden of both job and family responsibilities;
- —34 percent of women felt they were underutilized on the job.

Through these varied activities with grassroots working women, NCWW has identified four general areas of concern: wages, education and training, child care, and support systems. It is within these areas that work must go forward to improve the status of these workers.

Wages. It is important that the extent of discrimination caused by existing job evaluation systems be documented and that existing anti-discrimination legislation be analyzed for its sufficiency to protect all workers. Women must be encouraged to use litigation to assert their rights to wages that reflect the value of their work. While this can be a very frustrating and long-term strategy, it is critical that legal precedent be established on pay equity.

There are several important studies and demonstration projects on wage re-evaluation. The results of these studies should be widely disseminated and more public awareness directed at the concept of equal pay for work of equal value or of comparable worth.

However, more immediately important to women at the grassroots level is the need for a major communication effort to inform and support women in the 80 percent so that they may understand their rights and begin to act.

Women at the bottom of the pay scale in particular are deprived of fringe benefits which are considered standard for most male workers. Because of the part-time tradition of many female-intensive jobs such as waitress, beautician, sales clerk, or household worker, employers can deny important health and pension benefits to thousands of women workers.

---

*Copies of survey results available through NCWW, 1211 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 310, Washington, D.C. 20036, $2.00 per copy.

Education and Training. Access to education and training opportunities is denied to a vast majority of the 80 percent--in part because of the double burden of job and family responsibility carried by many of these women, in part because traditional female socialization has undermined women's confidence in their ability to participate fully in the worlds of work and education, and in part because of employers' attitudes and policies.

A study done in conjunction with NCWW's Regional Dialogue project investigated the barriers to education as seen by the women themselves. This project by the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs is entitled *Working Women Speak: Education, Training, Counseling Needs.**

The conclusion of that report states, "Lack of money, lack of time, lack of adequate child care facilities, inadequate or non-existent counseling, few benefits, lack of on-the-job training, failure to acknowledge experience in lieu of degrees, discrimination, lack of job opportunity, negative attitudes--all these obstacles prevent blue and pink collar working women from obtaining the education and training they need."

The educational delivery system must also be monitored for closer adherence to current litigation and legislation, to make certain that efforts are being made to break down the male/female segregation in work aspirations and occupational choice. Sex-fair counseling and guidance is a right that every student at any age should have. Such unbiased counseling may necessitate retraining of counselors.

The whole area of public education through the mass media is one which concerns working women. The image of women on radio and television and the coverage in the print media are not representative of the realities that women face every day in economic and political terms. Television is a potent medium that sells ideas as well as products. Millions of federal dollars are spent every year on public service campaigns to educate the public to new information, opportunities and health programs. This huge investment must be shared by using both broadcast and print media to present the image of women as equal partners with men in the work force, in the family and in society. This kind of campaign should be waged parallel to the development of new educational and entertainment programs which are on-going and not sexist.

The NCWW has initiated a National Broadcast Awards Program to stimulate and reward producers for programming about working women. The 1979 Awards were presented to 23 programs of merit from across the country. Linda Lavin, star of CBS' "Alice," received a special award for her realistic portrayal of a working woman.*

---

*Copies can be obtained through NACWEP at 1832 M Street, N.W., Suite 821, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Child care. Low income women have a particularly difficult and stressful time finding quality accessible child care for their preschool and school age children. At this time there is no federal action on the issue of child care even though demographers predict that in the next decade there will be 4 million more children under six in need of care than there are today. Most women do not have the luxury of choosing whether or not they will work at home to care for children. In an age of economic uncertainty the income of a second family worker is often a necessity. Since women continue to have primary child care responsibilities, they are penalized in their search for jobs and better working conditions.

In March 1979 the National Manpower Institute, the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor and NCWW sponsored a conference "Community Solutions for Child Care."** This conference brought together talented people in the field who direct unique and exciting child care programs at the local level. From this conference emerged an awareness of child care as a concern to all sectors of the community, with special emphasis on the involvement of the private sector in local solutions.

Support Systems. Clearly women in low paying, low status jobs are not aware of their options. Information systems are sluggish if they exist at all. The clerical workers' organizing projects seem to be the one bright energetic addition to the non-professional occupations. With continued leadership and financial support, these groups may be able to improve the conditions of this valuable segment of the work force.

Only 11 percent of women workers are in unions. The Coalition of Labor Union Women was founded to bring the principles of organization and the encouragement that women need to participate actively in the union structure.

NCWW Regional Dialogue model can be used at the state level and county level to bring information, skills and support to women in the 80 percent. This meeting gives women a chance to express their feelings and opinions concerning their work-related conditions and to develop strategies for solutions with their peers. It also gives them a rare opportunity to discuss these issues with decision makers from many areas of their lives, in a safe setting and under optimum conditions. NCWW urges any group who feels that such a meeting would be appropriate in their area to call or write for our *Guide to*

*For information on Broadcase Awards, write to NCWW.

**Report from the National Manpower Institute, Suite 301, 1211 Conn. Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Please enclose self addressed mailing label.

Planning a Dialogue for Working Women.

In the coming decade the life cycle of women will include an average of 27 years of paid employment. Women who are divorced, separated, or single will have nearly the same employment cycle as men. Publc policy must reflect this dramatic change in the lives of women.

Policy makers must listen to the demographers, the economists, the statisticians, the advocacy groups and to grassroots women. They need to realize that society is no longer the same, and that the policies and practices of the society can no longer be the same. Changes can be made and will be made, but it is much more sensible to plan now than to resort to remedial activities in years ahead. The issues are clear:

—Equal pay for work of equal value;
—Sex-fair education and training;
—Quality accessible child care for working people;
—Empowerment for low income, low status women.

WOMEN AND POLICY MAKING IN THE HOUSING AREA

Jo Ann McGeorge

The single most important way of assuring that research on women gets translated into public policy is by assuring that women are in policy-making positions. The fact that new housing policy initiatives for women have been undertaken is due in large part to an interesting situation: I work for a woman who works for a woman who--until Pat Harris went to HEW--worked for a woman. Let me be more specific.

Shortly after Patricia Roberts Harris was appointed Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, a White House spokesperson was quoted as saying, "We would like to appoint more women to executive positions, but we are having trouble finding enough who are qualified." Secretary Harris commented that she was having no difficulty whatsoever in recruiting qualified women and indeed had already named as Assistant for Secretary Policy Development and Research, Donna Shalala, a woman who is not only an outstanding economist, with both academic and practical experience, but also a strong feminist.

Assistant Secretary Shalala in turn brought in another feminist economist from Johns Hopkins, Katherine Lyall, to head the Office of Economic Affairs. Consider the implications of this bureaucratic hierarchy: a woman at the head of HUD setting a policy tone of greater sensitivity to women; then a woman heading the Policy Development Office committed to integrating a women's agenda into departmental research; and a woman administering the Department's major research effort: the Annual Housing Survey. Is it any wonder that a "feminist perspective" became an integral part of the working environment?

For example, the Annual Housing Survey (AHS) yields a rich source of data on American households, both in terms of structure and of the socio-demographic characteristics of household members--sex, ethnicity, age, whether rural or urban, etc. Under the direction of these women, analysis of the AHS data was broadened to include for the first time a statistical portrait of the housing conditions of women who bear the primary responsibility of a household. *How Well Are We Housed? Female Heads of Household* was published in 1979 and, because of the incredible response it generated, has gone into a second printing.

One of the more startling statistics included in this study--at least from a feminist perspective--was the contrast between the high percentage of female heads of household and the low percentage of women homeowners. In 1976 17.8 million women were recorded as heads of household--a 73 percent increase since 1960. Homeownership has long been one of the best practical hedges against inflation. But for these economically independent women, whose median income is typically about 60 percent of the median income for men, such protection is crucial. Yet of the 47.9 million owner-occupied homes in the United States, only 18 percent were owned by women. Even this small percentage must be put in perspective. Almost one-half (46 percent) of all female homeowners are 65 years of age or older, which suggests that homeownership for many women comes as an unfortunate corollary of widowhood rather than as a conscious investment choice.

These statistics seemed clear evidence that, although millions of women were making important housing decisions for themselves and often for families as well, they were not entering the mortgage market in proportion to their numbers. Thus the decision was made to launch a major educational campaign to facilitate the entry of women into the mortgage market: HUD's Women and Mortgage Credit Project.

The Women and Mortgage Credit Project will wage its educational campaign in 23 cities across the country. A series of 8-hour workshops will be held for women covering the basics of credit and the establishing of a credit history, the pros and cons of home ownership, the options available in housing and home mortgages and the step-by-step procedures involved in acquiring a mortgage.

Concurrent with the grass roots education of women will be a lender awareness campaign to encourage lenders to see the potential in a newly emerging "female market." By presenting statistical documentation on the credit worthiness of women, we will demonstrate to mortgage bankers and savings and loan officials that special marketing efforts directed to women should be undertaken--not only for any altruistic reasons but because it is in their own best interests to do so.

Finally the Women and Mortgage Credit Project will launch a national multi-media campaign to inform women of their rights under the law and where to get needed information on credit, housing financing, home ownership, and other important facts. We have prepared a bibliography listing publications in all these areas, where to order them and the cost, if any. (Most are free).

Incidentally (but not accidentally) the major contractor of the Women and Mortgage Credit Project is a woman-owned business (The BLK Group, Inc.) as is the media contractor (Hager, Sharp & Abramson).

In response to the upcoming White House Conference on Families, the Office of Policy Development and Research has undertaken a Families Research Agenda, which will culminate in a White Paper for use at the Conference. Again the feminist perspective is evident. One of the components of the research agenda is an examination of how changes in families as a consequence of death, divorce or separation affect their housing circumstances. A survey of single and female-headed families in three cities plus econometric projections on the patterns of families in transition through this century will be used in identifying housing needs--and thus housing policy--over the next two decades.

A concern for *women* and housing cannot be separated from a concern for children. Because there is growing evidence that discrimination against families with children in rental housing falls disproportionately on those families headed by women, our Families Research Agenda also contains a child discrimination component. Included is a national survey of rental units to measure the extent and types of no-children restrictions, an examination of state and local laws affecting child discrimination practices and a series of profiles of actual families who have encountered discrimination in their search for housing. Because the information generated by these research pieces will be introduced at a national forum, we hope the resulting dialogue at the Families Conference will create greater sensitivity to the problems of families headed by women.

To be sure, the policies of HUD or any other agency for that matter, are not magically transformed simply by placing women in policy-making positions. What I have tried to show, based on my experience, is how women can and do bring a woman's perspective to policy-making when they are in positions of influence. There is nothing magical about how this occurs either. Like any other group, women are more interested in and are more aware of the studies, statistics and empirical reports that deal with themselves and with other members of their sex. Not only are women more sensitive to women's problems, but they tend to place a higher priority on solving those problems than is often the case for men.

Secondly, women call upon their own experiences, which--as much of the research reported in this collection underlines--are quite different from the experiences of men. Consider, for instance, how differently men and women decision-makers perceive such standard categories as "married," "parent," or "head of household," upon which much government policy is based. Only when women's experiences are integrated into the policy process--through the inclusion of women themselves among the policy makers--can the needs of all kinds of families and all stages of the life cycle receive a fair and balanced treatment in public policy.

RACE, SEX, AGE AND POLITICAL CONSERVATISM
AMONG PARTISAN ELITES

Pauline Terrelonge Stone

To what extent is the public policy outlook of political elites related to life-cycle changes, and are elite life-cycle changes in public-policy outlook racially or sexually dependent?

The specific concern of this paper is with the extent to which elite variation in the public policy outlook along a continuum from liberal to conservative is a function of race, sex and age group membership. The role that these three factors play in American political behavior has been examined individually before, yet little consideration has been given to their interactive relationships, and to the way they can be generalized to political elites. This paper attempts to bridge this gap by focusing on the policy attitudes of delegates to the 1972 Presidential Convention. Although these delegates did not hold formal governmental positions, we may view them as comprising a political elite: their mere presence at a forum the purposes of which were to select a Presidential candidate and make national party policy indicates that their level of political interest and their participation in the affairs of state are over and beyond that of the average citizen.

Although we know very little about the interactive effects of race, sex, and age on political conservatism, we know something about their individual effects. Both the social science literature and popular folk-lore suggest that in public policy orientation women are more conservative than men[1]; whites are more conservative than blacks[2], and older persons are more conservative than younger persons[3]. This paper will throw some light on these three propositions by comparing the political conservatism of politically active blacks and whites, men and women, youth and elderly, and combinations of these groups.

TABLE 1: One Way Analyis of Variance of Attitude Toward Protecting Rights of the Accused

Strata	N	Mean	Variance	Standard Deviation
Black Males	110	2.11	3.54	1.88
White Males	1316	3.25	4.39	2.09
Black Females	92	2.35	4.66	2.16
White Females	875	2.86	4.23	2.05

Overall F Statistic = 17.4 Significance = .000
Gender Differences: F=.3 Sig= .6 Racial Differences: F=28.7 Sig=.0
Equality of Variance: F = .88 Sig = .446

Pairwise Comparison of Strata

Black Males	F Statistic	Significance
White Males	30.29	.00
Black Females	.61	.43
White Females	12.47	.00
White Males		
Black Females	16.32	.00
White Females	18.77	.00
Black Females		
White Females	5.06	.03

TABLE 2: One Way Analyis of Variance of Attitude Toward Protecting Rights of the Accused Among the Younger

Strata	N	Mean	Variance	Standard Deviation
Black Males	52	1.75	2.42	1.56
White Males	718	2.80	3.59	1.91
Black Females	56	1.75	2.55	1.61
White Females	501	2.53	3.73	1.93

Overall F Statistic = 10.2 Significance = .0
Gender Differences: F=.5 Sig= .5 Racial Differences: F=23.5 Sig=.0
Equality of Variance: F = 2.2 Sig = .08

Pairwise Comparison of Strata

Black Males	F Statistic	Significance
White Males	15.04	.0001
Black Females	0.	1.000
White Females	8.23	.004
White Males		
Black Females	16.11	.0001
White Females	5.69	.0172
Black Females		
White Females	8.8	.003

It is important to note at the outset that to define the term "conservative" is not an easy task.[4] To illustrate: the term can be construed to mean resistance to change. By this definition a liberal is one who welcomes new social change, whereas a conservative doesn't, and therefore today's liberal is tomorrow's conservative. Conservatism may also mean an unwillingness to take risks. Or it can have the meaning which Edmund Burke attributed to it--namely, that dictates which come from authority are inherently legitimate. In addition to these definitions, the term conservative can be applied to the degree of primacy that is given to individual freedom by the state. According to this defintion a conservative is one who believes that the state should be restrained from limiting individual freedom, even if this would promote the general good over the individual. In this sense of the term then a liberal is more humanitarian and egalitarian in approach to public policy than a conservative.

In order to make this definition of conservatism operational, we took three public policy issues, each concerned with a different area of policy, and examined the attitudes of the sample toward them. These were: attitude toward bussing, which is an example of a racial policy issue; attitude toward government taking economic steps to fight inflation, an economic policy issue; and finally, attitude toward protecting the rights of those accused of criminal conduct, a criminal justice policy issue. According to the defined criteria of political conservatism which we have set for ourselves, a liberal would support governmental involvement in the economy in order to fight inflation, busing for purposes of desegregating schools, and protecting the rights of the criminally accused.

Each of these attitudinal items allowed five responses and were therefore ordinal. The lowest score designated the most liberal response, the highest the most conservative. We used a one-way analysis of variance procedure on each item to compare group attitudes. We looked first at race and gender comparisons; then we controlled for age while making race and gender comparisons in order to ascertain if the original relationships varied from one age group to the other. It should be noted that we divided the sample into only two age groupings--younger and older--and not three--younger, middle-aged, and older--because the small size of the black male and female sub-samples precluded delimitation of finer age-gradations.

Findings: Criminal Justice Policy. On the issue of whether the rights of accused criminals should be protected there were no gender differences; however, there were highly significant racial differences on this policy item (Table 1). Men and women viewed the issue of protecting the rights of the accused from a similar perspective, but blacks and whites did not. Blacks were more often in favor of protecting the accused than were whites, and age did not alter this pattern. Similarly, age did not alter the general pattern of sexual convergence on this issue (Tables 2 and 3).

That black delegates should be more liberal than their white counterparts on the issue of protecting the rights of those accused

TABLE 3: One Way Analyis of Variance of Attitude Toward Protecting Rights of the Accused Among the Older

Strata	N	Mean	Variance	Standard Deviation
Black Males	52	2.3	4.1	2.0
White Males	539	3.7	4.8	2.2
Black Females	31	3.2	6.5	2.5
White Females	357	3.3	4.5	2.1

Overall F Statistic = 8.2 Significance = .000
Gender Differences: F= .7 Sig= .4 Racial Differences: F=9.1 Sig=.003
Equality of Variance: F = .80 Sig = .49

Pairwise Comparison of Strata

Black Males	F Statistic	Significance
White Males	20.1	.00
Black Females	3.0	.10
White Females	9.6	.002
White Males		
Black Females	1.93	.164
White Females	7.9	.005
Black Females		
White Females	.12	.73

TABLE 4: One Way Analyis of Variance of Attitude Toward Government Fighting Inflation

Strata	N	Mean	Variance	Standard Deviation
Black Males	105	1.7	1.06	1.02
White Males	1292	2.5	2.02	1.42
Black Females	81	1.4	.81	.89
White Females	858	2.3	2.08	1.4

Overall F Statistic = 21.9 Significance = .000
Gender Differences: F=4.4 Sig= .04 Racial Differences: F=57.8 Sig=.0
Equality of Variance: F = 14.2 Sig = .00

Pairwise Comparison of Strata

Black Males	F Statistic	Significance
White Males	26.8	.00
Black Females	2.3	.13
White Females	16.9	.00
White Males		
Black Females	42.6	.00
White Females	5.2	.02
Black Females		
White Females	31.0	.00

of criminal misconduct is not surprising, since blacks are far more likely than whites to encounter problems with the law, to be found guilty of crimes without fair or adequate defense, and to be incarcerated for their crimes, all a product of the racially differentiated standards of distributing justice in the society.

Economic Policy. Table 4 reveals that on the issue of whether the government should take an active role in fighting inflation, marked gender and racial differences appeared, although the latter differences were greater than the former. Blacks were far more liberal than whites, women somewhat more so than men. Age controls revealed that the gender differences were somewhat stronger among younger than among older men and women, but the racial differences were not related to age; so among both younger and older populations, blacks were more supportive of governmental intervention in the economy than were whites. (Tables 5 and 6).

The more pronounced racial difference on this issue probably derives from the tendency for poorer income groups to be less capable of coping with inflationary patterns in the economy. Also, blacks generally view an activist federal government in more positive terms than whites, mainly because much of the progress toward reducing racial barriers historically was initiated by this level of government.

It is more difficult to explain why the data showed that gender differences in views of governmental involvement in the economy was slightly more pronounced among younger than older delegates. We know that women generally perform the consumer roles for families, and may therefore be more likely to perceive inflation as more threatening than men do, but we cannot explain why younger women would be more supportive of governmental efforts to curb inflation than are older women. Perhaps this is a facet of the aging process, or a result of the social climate of the post-World War II era, which is more supportive of all government intervention in the private sector than were earlier periods.

Racial Policy. Given the historical legacy of racial tensions in the society, it was not surprising that there was no significant difference between the men and women in their attitude toward busing, that there was a very large and significant racial difference, and that age controls did not change these general patterns (Tables 7, 8, and 9).

Individual Group Comparisons on Political Conservatism

Racial Patterns

1. Black Males and White Males and Females. On none of the three policy issues considered was there any similarity in the perspective of black men and white men. Black males were consistently more liberal, and age did not affect these patterns. Similarly black males were consistently more liberal than were white females, and this racial differentiation characterized all age groupings.

TABLE 5: One Way Analyis of Variance of Attitude Toward The Government Fighting Inflation Among the Younger

Strata	N	Mean	Variance	Standard Deviation
Black Males	52	1.6	.87	.93
White Males	707	2.5	1.8	1.3
Black Females	54	1.4	.77	.87
White Females	487	2.3	2.1	1.4

Overall F Statistic = 16.3 Significance = .00
Gender Differences: F=2.0 Sig=.16 Racial Differences: F=43.3 Sig=.0
Equality of Variance: F = 9.2 Sig = .00

Pairwise Comparison of Strata

Black Males	F Statistic	Significance
White Males	19.02	.00
Black Females	.90	.34
White Females	13.10	.00
White Males		
Black Females	33.02	.00
White Females	2.98	.08
Black Females		
White Females	24.5	.00

TABLE 6: One Way Analyis of Variance of Attitude Toward Government Fighting Inflation Among the Older

Strata	N	Mean	Variance	Standard Deviation
Black Males	48	1.8	1.0	1.0
White Males	526	2.5	2.3	1.5
Black Females	23	1.6	.98	.99
White Females	353	2.3	2.2	1.5

Overall F Statistic = 6.2 Significance = .0004
Gender Differences: F= .56 Sig= .45 Racial Differences: F=14.7 Sig= .0001
Equality of Variance: F = 5.4 Sig = .001

Pairwise Comparison of Strata

Black Males	F Statistic	Significance
White Males	11.3	.00
Black Females	.14	.70
White Females	6.9	.01
White Males		
Black Females	8.1	.00
White Females	2.2	.14
Black Females		
White Females	5.4	.02

Perhaps these patterns can be explained in terms of the subordinate position of black men in the society vis-a-vis whites.

2. Black Females and White Males and Females. Black and white females differed in their economic and racial policy perspectives and remained differentiated even when controls for age were made. On both of these issues black women of all ages were more liberal than white women. But with respect to the issue of criminal justice, age made a difference. Although the black women were generally more willing to protect the rights of the accused, this divergence was only apparent among younger women. Older women of both races shared similar perspectives on this particular issue.

As was the case with black and white women, black women and white men exhibited distinctively different views toward economic and racial policy, and continued to do so even after controls made for age. Also in conformity with patterns found when comparisons were made to white females, black females and white males differed in their views of protecting the rights of accused. But the general tendency for white men to be more conservative on this issue than black females was not characteristic of both age groups. Rather, there was no difference on the issue of protecting the rights of the accused between older black women and older white men, but significant differences existed among their younger cohorts.

Why would age prove to be a discriminating factor in the criminal justice views of black women? Why would older black women exhibit the same conservative attitudinal stance on this issue as older whites, both male and female? Perhaps, greater vulnerability to crime stemming from being black, old, and female is part of the reason. This factor would also explain why older black women and men were somewhat different in their views on this issue.

Gender Patterns

1. White Males and White Females. Contrary to our hypothesis, on all three policy issues white females were significantly more liberal than white men, and remained so throughout the life-cycle on two of the three issues. The only issue where the introduction of controls for age mutated these general patterns was economic policy; younger white women tended to be slightly more liberal on this issue than younger white men, but there was no difference in the outlook on this issue among older white men and women.

It is interesting that white women exhibited a more liberal view with respect to bussing than white men, regardless of age group, indicating that white women are more supportive of black interests than are white males. This gender difference among whites, combined with the similar pattern we found with respect to economic issues, suggests that black and white women may be able to become involved in political coalitions because of their shared liberalism on certain issues.

TABLE 7: One Way Analyis of Variance of Attitude Toward Bussing

Strata	N	Mean	Variance	Standard Deviation
Black Males	105	2.2	3.7	1.9
White Males	1329	4.5	5.7	2.4
Black Females	88	2.7	5.9	2.4
White Females	897	3.9	6.0	2.5

Overall F Statistic = 43.3 Significance = .000
Gender Differences: F=.15 Sig=.9 Racial Differences: F=88.7 Sig=.0
Equality of Variance: F = 3.5 Sig = .01

Pairwise Comparison of Strata

Black Males	F Statistic	Significance
White Males	85.4	.00
Black Females	2.3	.13
White Females	46.2	.00
White Males		
Black Females	42.8	.00
White Females	29.8	.00
Black Females		
White Females	18.8	.00

TABLE 8: One Way Analyis of Variance of Attitude Toward Bussing Among the Younger

Strata	N	Mean	Variance	Standard Deviation
Black Males	50	2.2	3.2	1.8
White Males	726	4.0	5.6	2.4
Black Females	55	2.8	5.9	2.4
White Females	507	3.5	5.7	2.4

Overall F Statistic = 15.5 Significance = .000
Gender Differences: F=.56 Sig=.81 Racial Differences: F=30.3 Sig=.0
Equality of Variance: F = 2.1 Sig = .1010

Pairwise Comparison of Strata

Black Males	F Statistic	Significance
White Males	29.5	.00
Black Females	1.7	.19
White Females	15.6	.00
White Males		
Black Females	14.8	.00
White Females	12.9	.00
Black Females		
White Females	5.4	.02

2. Black Males and Black Females. These two groups converged on their opinions on all three issue areas. Age controls changed these patterns only on the issue of protecting the rights of the criminally accused. The probable reason for the latter pattern was explained earlier.

We can speculate that the reason why blacks of different age groups tended to view issues in the same way, and generally from a more liberal perspective than whites, is probably a result of the fact that they are less likely to experience an improvement in their socio-economic status than members of the latter group. Whites have not been victims of systematic racial discrimination and are more likely to be able to improve their socio-economic status within a lifetime; they have, therefore, a narrower conception of the general good.

Conclusion. This analysis has suggested that the degree to which political elites are politically conservative is more race than sex or age dependent. Blacks were consistently more liberal than whites on the particular public policy issues investigated. Gender and age differences, when they did appear, were more characteristic of whites than of blacks. Overall, the most marked dissimilarity in policy orientation was between white males on the one hand and the other three groups on the other.

Whether these age differences in political conservatism are due to persons becoming more conservative over time, or whether they are a product of the way in which these groups were socialized at a certain historical period cannot be precisely determined from the data on hand. We must therefore be cautious in making either generational or maturational explanations of the age-dependent findings. To be in a better position to choose between these two competing explanations, one needs panel data. Such data are difficult to come by because political elites, particularly women and blacks, generally do not stay in power long enough for us to obtain observations across time.

TABLE 9: One Way Analyis of Variance of Attitude Toward Bussing Among the Older

Strata	N	Mean	Variance	Standard Deviation
Black Males	50	2.16	3.9	2.1
White Males	541	5.1	5.3	2.2
Black Females	28	2.8	6.2	2.5
White Females	370	4.4	6.1	2.5

Overall F Statistic = 28.1 Significance = .000
Gender Differences: F= .005 Sig= .9 Racial Differences: F= 56.5 Sig=.0
Equality of Variance: F = 1.8 Sig = .15

Pairwise Comparison of Strata

Black Males	F Statistic	Significance
White Males	63.7	.00
Black Females	1.3	.26
White Females	38.2	.00
White Males		
Black Females	22.3	.00
White Females	13.6	.00
Black Females		
White Females	11.6	.00

NOTES

1. For an excellent discussion of this literature see Murray Goot and Elizabeth Reid, *Women and Voting Studies: Mindless Matrons and Sexist Scientism?* (Sage Professional Papers, 1975.)

2. For further discussion see James Graham, *The Segregationists.* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1962), pp. 305-344; Hanes Walton, "Blacks and Conservative Political Movements," in *Black Political Life in the United States,* edited by Lenneal Henderson. (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1972), pp. 215-223.

3. For an excellent review of the central issues involved in studying age and political behavior, see Robert B. Hudson and Robert Binstock, "Political Systems and Aging" in *Handbook of Aging and the Social Sciences,* edited by Robert H. Binstock and Ethal Shanas. (New York, NY: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1976), pp. 369-400; Ann Foner, "The Polity" in *Aging and Society: A Sociology of Age Stratification,* edited by Matilda White Riley, Marilyn Johnson and Ann Foner. (New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation, 1972), pp. 115-159; Norval Glenn, "Aging and Conservative," *Annals* 415 (September 1974): pp. 174-186; Neal Cutler and Vern Bengston, "Age and Political Alienation: Maturation, Generation and Period Effects," *Annals* 415 (September 1974): pp. 160-175.

4. For further discussion of the historical development of American conservatism, see Alan P. Grimes, *American Political Thought* (New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960), pp. 478-510; Clinton Rossiter, *Conservatism in America* (New York, NY: Knopf, 1962), pp. 67-198; Peter Viereck, *Conservatism Revisited* (New York, NY: The Free Press, 1962), pp. 121-159.

WOMEN, REPRESENTATION AND PUBLIC POLICY:
REFLECTIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Irene Diamond

It is now almost ten years since the burgeoning of scholarly interest in the role of politics in women's lives. What I would like to do here is to offer a few observations on how this scholarship has developed, for the purpose of identifying key questions that have yet to be systematically explored. My review is not intended to be comprehensive for my concern centers on a critical issue that has been raised by the contemporary women's movement: namely, that women's subordinate status in society and the discriminatory policies and institutional practices that perpetuate that status are accounted for by the fact that women lack political power. In short women's interests are not represented in public life because women are excluded from the crucial decision-making arenas. The basic presumption guiding this particular account of women's situation is that women themselves must represent their interests and that more favorable policies will result when a greater number of individual women hold positions of power.

The first stage of research within political science began with critiques of the existing literature and uncovered the sexist biases that pervaded what political science had said about women prior to the emergence of the contemporary women's movement.[1] This served a good consciousness raising function, but could not tell us much about women because the discipline had not paid much attention to women. Basic data gathering was essential before new theoretical accounts could begin and thus the next stage of research was marked by descriptive accounts of women as opinion holders, voters, party activists, and office holders.

It became apparent very quickly that even though women had been excluded from the basic rights of citizenship through most of

American history, by the mid-1960's politics was just as much a part of the life of the average female citizen as it was for the male citizen. Women participated in elections and community activities at much the same rate as men. The big division between the sexes occurred at the elite level. Much of the research began to center on the question of what held women back from public office holding, and thus it is no coincidence that the first two book length monographs, Jeane Kirkpatrick's *Political Woman* in 1974, and my own *Sex Roles in the State House* in 1977, focussed on women in elective office. Kirkpatrick's book, like much of the early descriptive work, centered on detailing the experiences and problems of the few women who did serve as representatives. Though Kirkpatrick did not deal directly with the policy positions taken by state legislators she studied, her research suggested that politically active women did not necessarily support, and sometimes even opposed, the women's movement and its goals.[2] My own work confirmed that women representatives were by no means a homogeneous group who actively sought to advance the interests of women, but also sought to account for some of the political environment.[3]

I would suggest that my research marked something of a transition phase in the developing scholarship, for explanations have moved beyond reducing everything to the catch-all concept of sex roles. We are now beginning to see more attention paid to structural explanations of the rarity of women office-holders, the statistical models used are becoming increasingly more sophisticated, and analyses are more focussed in that journal articles no longer try to cover all phases of the political life cycle. Yet most of this developing scholarship still centers on the issue of barriers to participation and is still hamstrung by the limitations of conventional behavioral research techniques. The implicit, and sometimes explicit presumption in the literature often uncritically accepts the basic feminist contention regarding representation. Surprisingly little research systematically investigates whether women representatives do in fact advance policy concerns that differ from those of their male colleagues. When issue orientations or voting patterns are examined, I would argue that we have sometimes seen some straining to demonstrate that representation by women is different.[4] Certainly what the best research does tell us is that party interacts with gender, but that party is a more significant predictor of vote than gender.[5]

As I hinted earlier, my own research on women in state legislatures strongly suggests that the number of women representatives has not been the crucial ingredient in determining whether policies which advance women's interests are likely to be enacted by legislative bodies. The state of New Hampshire has always had more women in its state legislature than any other state in the union; in fact, more women serve in the New Hampshire house than in any legislative body in the world; currently 111 women serve in the state's lower house. Yet the state of New Hampshire is not particularly known for its progressive legislation with regard to women. California, on the other hand, has probably been one of the most innovative states in the nation in recent years so far as women's interests are concerned.

California, for example, was the first state to create displaced homemakers' centers, yet California has ranked near the bottom in terms of representation of women. Michigan was the first state to pass a progressive rape shield law, but Michigan also is not a leader in the representation of women in its state house. An unpublished study which did correlate equalitarian policy outputs with the proportion of women in its state houses found no relationship.[6] This situation obtains because actual policy output is the product of a multitude of factors and the particular preferences of individual legislators are relatively minor. In any event no state has ever had a majority of women representatives.

But the crucial consideration that is relevant to an understanding of the situation is that in states where structural conditions have facilitated the election of women, women representatives who are not particularly interested in acting for women are the most frequent type of representative chosen. The state of New Hampshire has not elected large numbers of women because the state has been a haven for feminists, but rather because a seat in the New Hampshire house is not a particularly prestigious political position. Party recruiters are so desperate for candidates that they cannot be particularly choosy and thus will actively recruit women--women for whom politics or women's issues are not particularly salient. On the other hand, in those states where a legislative seat is a valued political position, recruitment is more selective and does not favor women. Women who survive the electoral process in such states are more likely to be women for whom politics and women's issues are more salient. Yet no matter how strongly individual women representatives may feel about a particular issue, they are still limited to one vote. Policy success, where and when it has occurred, surely cannot be attributed to their votes.

At the Congressional level the number of women representatives has not increased at all in the last decade, and though no one would want to give the Congress gold stars for representing women's interests, more women's rights legislation has been passed in this decade than in the entire history of Congress. What I am trying to suggest here is that the number of individual women representatives has not been the crucial ingredient in the representation of women's policy concerns. Organization and agitation by women outside of representative institutions would appear to be considerably more relevant, but here I am moving into the uncharted areas that have yet to be systematically explored. We have concentrated much attention on the behaviors of individual women within political parties and representative institutions, but we have paid little attention to collectivities of women outside, and their impact on the policy orientation of decision-making bodies. This almost totally untapped area of research might also prove valuable to the concerns of the women's movement, which was the original impetus for the current wave of research.

In reply to the initial question then, of whether only women can represent women, clearly the answer is no--but I am not about to suggest that women hand things over to men and return home. We do, however, need to recognize the complexity of representation within the American policy process. I would suggest that the sexes are relatively interchangeable in the latter stages of policy-making; once issues have been defined and support for bills developed, men will not be considerably less supportive than women. But this interchangeability which seems to minimize the importance of gender--what representation theory might term the ability of men to act for women--is not constant throughout the policy-making process. My theory would argue that the sexes are not at all interchangeable in the earliest stages of policy development. When it comes to the identification of needs, and the translation of needs into definable issues, gender is considerably more crucial. I would hypothesize that it is here that only women can act for women. The available evidence does suggest, however, that we cannot take for granted that any women will assume this representative function.

A model of representation that developed the concept of interchangeability would also need to take account of political and economic context. We must refrain from making blanket generalizations about the nature of political woman. My hypothesis is that the average woman representative at the Congressional level is considerably more sensitive to the representation of women's rights issues, and possibly even more fundamental feminist issues, than is the average woman representative on a local city council. It is probably safer to expect that *any* woman at the Congressional level might assume certain representative functions regarding equal opportunity issues. This assumption occurs in part because of differences in organizational developments outside representative institutions at the national level--hence the importance of studying this arena of political activity.

It is essential that we refocus our research questions. We need to move beyond the issue of barriers to elite participation. If we want to create the conditions that facilitate the full public participation of all women, research must examine more facets of political life than the behaviors of individuals in the electoral arena. Research must also begin to address the extent to which the interests of all classes of women are in fact advanced by policies that are promoted in the name of women.

Footnotes

1. Susan C. Bourque and Jean Grossholtz, "Politics an Unnatural Practice: Political Science Looks at Female Participation," *Politics and Society*; 4 (1974), 225-226; Jane S. Jacquette,"Introduction" in *Women in Politics*, ed. Jane S. Jacquette (New York: Wiley, 1974).

2. Jeane Kirkpatrick, *Political Woman* (New York: Basic Books, 1974), pp. 163-167.

3. Irene Diamond, *Sex Roles in the State House* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977).

4. See for instance Kathleen Frankovic, "Sex and Voting in the U.S. House of Representatives: 1961-1975," *American Politics Quarterly* 5 (1977) 315-330 where sex is found to be more crucial than party on the basis of comparing the votes of women Congresspersons, most of whom are Democrates with a random sample of male Congresspersons.

5. Frieda L. Gehlen, "Women Members of Congress: A Distinctive Role," in *A Portrait of Marginality* Eds., Mariane Githens and Jewel L. Prestage (New York: David Mackay) pp. 304-319; M. Kent Jennings and Barbara G. Farah, "Social Roles and Political Resources: An Over-time Study of Men and Women in Party Elites," Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, 1978; Shelah Leader, "The Policy Impact of Elected Women Officials," in *The Impact of the Electoral Process*, eds., Joseph and Louis Maisel (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1977).

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Antonia Abbey is a Ph.D. candidate in Social Psychology at Northwestern. Her dissertation and other research have been in the area of rape and its consequences for the victim and others.

Suzanne Kunkel Adlon is research manager of the Scripps Foundation Gerontology Center at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio.

Toni Antonucci, Assistant Professor of Family Practice and assistant research scientist, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, is engaged in research on socialization across the life span, with emphasis on transition.

Judith Bardwick, Professor of Psychology, University of Michigan, is the author of *The Psychology of Women.*

Rosalind Barnett, a clinical research psychologist, is currently a Research Associate at the Wellesley College Center for Research on Women. With Grace Baruch she is co-author of *The Competent Woman: Perspectives on Development.*

Grace Baruch, a developmental psychologist, is currently Program Director in Adult Development and Aging at the Wellesley College Center for Research on Women.

Joanne Baum (Ph.D., Social Welfare, University of Wisconsin) has served most recently as Director of Education and Research at the Jewish Home for the Aged in Detroit, Michigan.

Jan Beals is a graduate student research assistant in the Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan.

Angus Campbell is former Director, University of Michigan Institute for Social Research; his most recent book is *The Sense of Well Being in America: Recent Patterns and Trends* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1980).

Sandra Gibbs Candy, a developmental psychologist with a special interest in aging, is at present Assistant Professor of Psychology, University of Kentucky.

Mary Ellen Colten (Ph.D., psychology) has been a lecturer in the School of Nursing, and is at present a research investigator at the University of Michigan Institute for Social Research.

Mary Corcoran is an Assistant Professor of Political Science and a study director at the University of Michigan Survey Research Center.

Margaret Davies, Pediatrician and Instructor in Family Practice, at the University of Michigan, has focussed her research on maternal-infant relationships and the changing role of the physician.

Charlene Depner, Assistant Research Scientist at the University of Michigan Institute for Social Research, is engaged in research on the effect of social roles on well-being.

Irene Diamond teaches political science at Purdue University.

Greg Duncan is an Assistant Professor of Economics and Senior Study Director at the University of Michigan Survey Research Center.

Catherine Faver, an Assistant Professor at the University of Texas Graduate School of Social Work, wrote her doctoral dissertation on "Women's Well Being and the Life Cycle: Values as Mediators between Status and Satisfaction."

Carol Fethke is an Associate Professor of Home Economics at the University of Iowa. Her research has focussed on the economic problems of the homemaker and the economics of health-care delivery.

Barbara Forisha, Associate Professor of psychology, University of Michigan at Dearborn, is the author of *Sex Roles and Personal Awareness*.

Janet Giele, a lecturer at the Florence Heller Graduate School for Advanced Studies in Social Welfare at Brandeis University, has worked extensively on current family policy development in the United Statee and is the author of *Women and the Future: Changing Sex Roles in Modern America* and editor of *Women in the Middle Years: An Agenda for Research and Policy*.

Carol Gilligan, Assistant Professor, Harvard Graduate School of Education, centered her research on moral development in women and men.

Jeanne Gordus, an assistant research scientist at the University of Michigan-Wayne State University Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, has done research on the economics of labor force participation and on policy development in working life.

Hafter, Daryl, Associate Professor of History at Eastern Michigan University, is a specialist in the history of technology in early modern Europe.

Algea Othella Harrison, Associate Professor of Psychology, Oakland University, has researched and written on the black female and on black children.

Nancy Hauserman holds a law degree from the University of Iowa College of Law, teaches in the University of Iowa Department of Industrial Relations and Human Resources. She has written and published in the areas of homemaker's policy, legal rights of the fetus and discrimination.

A. Elizabeth Holland, a doctoral candidate in social psychology at Northwestern University, is researching helping relationships and the effects of others' reactions on rape victims.

Janet Kohen is a post-doctoral fellow in the Family and Sex Roles Program at the University of Michigan Institute for Social Research

Judy Mahle Lutter, a Ph.D. candidate in American Studies, is currently a Research Fellow and Project Coordinator for an assessment study of the CEW Program at the University of Minnesota.

Jean Manis, research investigator at the University of Michigan Center for Continuing Education of Women, is analyzing data on CEW participants across the life cycle.

Hazel Markus, Assistant Professor of Psychology at the University of Michigan and assistant research scientist, Institute for Social Research and for CEW, has centered her research on the self and on adult development across the life span.

Jo Ann McGeorge, project director for the Office of Policy Development and Research at HUD, Washington, D.C., has designed and managed the Women and Mortgage Credit Project, HUD's major effort to address issues relating to women gaining equal access to housing credit.

Karen Clark Mikus, a Ph.D. candidate in Education and Psychology, University of Michigan, works also with the Washtenaw County Community Health Center.

Joanne Holbert Minor is at the Department of Theoretical and Behavioral Foundations, Wayne State University.

Jacquelynne Parsons is an assistant professor of psychology, University of Michigan, who has concentrated her research on the development of achievement behavior in males and females and its integration in the life development plan.

Sandra Porter, Program Associate at the National Institue for Work and Learning, National Commission on Working Women, Washington, D.C., has researched issues involving pink and blue collar workers.

Marcia Plunkett, a post doctorate at the University of Michigan Medical Student Mental Health Service, is researching issues dealing with mothers working and parental identity.

Dr. Pamela Schwartz, on the faculty of the Merrill-Palmer Institute, Detroit, Michigan, has done research on child care and attachment behavior of infants.

Dr. Patricia Bell Scott, a post-doctoral fellow and Research Associate at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, has researched the area of black women, work and education.

Dr. Erica Serlin holds a clinical appointment in the Department of Psychiatry and is Assistant Director of Student Affairs at the Medical College of Ohio, at Toledo.

Dr. Pauline Terrelonge Stone, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan, is now enrolled in the University of Michigan School of Law.

Lois M. Tamir, Ph.D. candidate in developmental psychology, is currently a pre-doctoral trainee in survey research at the University of Michigan Institute for Social Research.

Lois M. Verbrugge is researching sex differences in illness and mortality rates at the University of Michigan.

Patricia Voydanoff, chairperson of the Department of Family and Community Studies at the Merrill-Palmer Institute, Detroit, Michigan is researching at present the effects of unemployment in corporate families.

Dr. Jacqueline Wiersma is on the clinical faculty of the Psychology Department, University of Minnesota, and director of the Child Guidance Clinic at North Memorial Medical Center in Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Dr. Camille B. Workman, Associate Professor of Psychology, University of Michigan, centers her research interests on reactions to uncontrollable life events and problems in the social support systems.

Laura Williams, Associate Professor of Education, University of Michigan, has just completed a short-termremediation project with the Ann Arbor Public Schools and is currently looking at the reading and composition skills of Arab immigrant children.

43

INDEX

Achievement 4, 24, 111-113
Adult Development 18, 35-56
Age 4, 46, 53
Age roles 6, 11-12
Apprenticeship 159 ff
Ascription (Role) 4
Attachment
  mother-child 85-94
  life span concept 19, 25
Barnett, Rosalind 39, 54
Baruch, Grace 39, 54
Best, Fred 6
Black women 101-109, 169-175
Carden, Maren Lockwood 3, 13
Capitalism 159 ff
CETA 195-203
Chesler, Phyllis 123
Childcare 85-93, 420
Child rearing 117-124
Comprehensive Employment and Training Act
  see
  CETA
Coping strategies 85-94, 101-109, 211, 247-252
Crossovers 3-13, 391 ff
Disability 405-412
Divorce 51, 70, 399
Durkheim, Emile 4, 7
Economic Independence 69-82
Education of Women 347-359, 363-371, 373-379, 381-388, 419
Empty nest 51, 133-144
Engels, Frederick 4, 13, 14
Family, stages of 8,' 62, 117-124, 133-144
Family-work combinations 61-66
Flextime employment 65, 124
Freeman, Jo 3, 14
Friedan, Betty 10
Guilds 159 ff
Harris, Patricia Roberts 423
Health 311-322, 325-333, 337-343
Heroin addiction 337-343
Hole, Judith 3, 14
Homemakers 38, 291-301, 397-401, 405-412
Housing 423-426
Identity
  Female 21, 39
  Male 22
Industrialization 4
Infants 85
Kirkpatrick, Jeane 440
Levine, Ellen 3, 14
Levinson, Daniel 11, 35, 37, 38, 39, 42-43, 44, 45, 46, 49, 52, 72, 101, 209
Life cycle theory 17-31
Life insurance 408 ff
Linton, Ralph 7
Lowenthal, M.F. 221-226
Marriage 39, 101-109
Marxism 5, 160-161
Mathematics 373-379
Mead, Margaret 393
Men
  at middle age 45-46, 49, 127-131, 147-150
Men's liberation 6
Mentors 46
Mid-life 127-131, 207-216
Millett, Kate 3, 15
Minority women 101-109
  see also
  Black women
Mortgage Credit Project, Women and 424 ff
Multiple roles 38, 40, 54, 62-66, 69-82, 85-93, 95-99, 101-109, 291-301
National Broadcast Awards Program 419
National Commission on Working Women 417 ff
Parenthood 117-124
Parsons, Talcott 7
Part-time employment 65, 124, 286 ff
Pension plans 398 ff, 411
Pink and Blue Collar Workers 417-421
Political conservatism 427-436
Presidential nominating convention 427 ff

Public employment 195-203
Public policy 7, 159-165, 307,
  391-396, 397-401, 405-412,
  417-421, 423-426, 427-436,
  439-442
Research needs 30
Retirement 52-53, 410 ff
Rossi, Alice 10-11
Rubin, Lillian 396
Separation 22, 25
Sex roles 4, 392 ff
Shalala, Donna 423
Social Security 12, 51, 391,
  394, 398, 411
Social support 221-226, 229-233,
  257-263, 311-322
Sociology 3-13
Spencer, Herbert 4, 15
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady 4
Suffrage 4
Support networks
    see
  Social support
Technological change 159-165
Toennies, Ferdinand 4, 15
Transition
  to work 207-216, 229 ff, 283-290
  to widowhood 231 ff
Urbanization 4
Victims 262 ff
Wages 179-192
Weber, Max 4
Weiss, L. 221-226
Well-being, psychological 269-281, 291-301, 303-307
Welter, Barbara 4
White House Conference on
  Families 425
Widowhood 51, 239-244, 247-252,
  303-307
Woolf, Virginia 347
Work 61-66, 95-99, 159-165, 169-175, 269-281, 283-290
Working mothers 85-94, 95-99
    see also
  Multiple roles

Publications of the
Center for Continuing Education of Women

Changing Family, Changing Workplace: New Research.
1980. 94 pp. $4.00.
Work, Family Roles and Support Systems: New Research.
1979. 135 pp. $3.00.
Role of Women in Conflict and Peace.
1977. 91 pp. $3.50.
New Research on Women and Sex Roles.
1976. 404 pp. $6.00.
New Research on Women.
1974. 289 pp. $5.00.
A Sampler of Women's Studies.
1973. 118 pp. $4.00.
Women on Campus.
1971. 65 pp. $1.50.
A Dangerous Experiment: 100 Years of Women at the University of Michigan. 136 pp. $4.00.